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HOW THE HOUSE DOES BUSINESS.

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THE citizens of the United States have, as a rule, only vague ideas of the methods adopted by the House of Representatives to do its part of the legislative business of the country. A clear comprehension of the facts would dissipate many objections and do much to reconcile even members themselves to the limitations of each individual's power, for they would find that the limitations arise out of the nature of things and are well-nigh inevitable.

Every member of the House represents a large constituency in its relation to national affairs. Each one, therefore, feels that his rights should be commensurate with his duties. In fact and practice, however, there are 356 other gentlemen who represent constituencies just as extensive, and with just as many rights. The problem is how to recognize each one's rights, having also due regard to the rights of all the rest. Obviously, no one has rights to the exclusion of the rights of others. This problem the House has had to meet from its very beginning in 1789, and the methods now in use have been the creation of no one man and of no set of men, but have been the slow growth of a hundred years, changing with the changed circumstances and meeting new conditions as they arose. Why they are what they are can best be understood by considering the duties and obligations and the

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physical possibilities of an assembly of 360 men, for such is the number of men who compose the House of Representatives when you include the three Territorial delegates, who have the right of speech though not of vote.

It is to be noted at the outset that there are few analogies between the House of Representatives of the United States and the corresponding bodies of the different States. The differences between the two are fundamental and very wide reaching.

When the Constitution was prepared and submitted to the people of the separate States the authors of the *Federalist* recognized one difference, which has not only lasted to this day, but which has greatly increased. When they undertook to defend the entrusting of two years' power to the House they encountered much opposition. The popular sentiment of that time was well expressed in the popular proverb that where annual elections left off tyranny began. All the thirteen colonies then believed that two years' power was a dangerous gift, too dangerous even to be entrusted to the representatives of the people themselves. Whether much of the trouble we are having in the States does not arise from the abandonment of that opinion of our forefathers is well worth the consideration of the judicious. However that may be, biennial elections were fiercely assailed, and the defence brought out a fundamental fact as true, or, perhaps, more true, to-day than ever before, the fact that we all of us know little of what is thought and believed outside our own locality. Although we are a great nation, united and compact, it is still true that the first government we live under is the government of the State. That first attracts our attention, and, speaking generally, that is about the only part of the government of which we have much knowledge. Of Congress the people get little information; of their own legislatures the people get a great deal. Inasmuch as the newspapers so limit their accounts of Congressional action that an absent Congressman can hardly keep track of the proceedings of his own assembly, the individual in private life can hardly expect to have much of an idea of what is going on even in that part of the proceedings which affects him. As for the action of States other than his own the citizen in general has no notion whatever unless some extraordinary action is taken. Our State affairs we take in by absorption,

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In Congress every member finds himself at one great disadvantage, which length of service may diminish but can never entirely take away, and that disadvantage arises from the lack of local knowledge as to far-off States. We may be a homogeneous nation, but we are certainly not lacking in diversities.

The broad extent of the country, in more ways therefore than one, affects the legislative action of the House, and also its methods of action.

In some of the smaller States all the business which is presented to the Legislature is disposed off in some way or other. The committees report all bills and resolutions which are sent to them, and both Assemblies say "yes" or "no" directly or indirectly to them all.

In Congress neither House attempts to do anything of the kind. The pigeon holes of all of the committees which are fortunate enough to have any business at all are found, at the end of the session and of Congress, full of bills undisposed of. Thousands also of the bills reported are left on the calendars without even the poor formality of being discussed, or even of being called up. In a word, Congress, when it gets ready, adjourns, leaving the dead bills by the wayside.

In assemblies where all the business is transacted, where the dockets and calendars are cleared, it is only a question of the time when a proposition shall be heard, and never a question whether it shall be heard at all.

In order to state the situation in the House of Representatives in more concrete form, and therefore to bring it nearer to general comprehension, the facts relating to the business of the House and Senate of the 54th Congress now last past will be very useful. Both sessions of this Congress were short. The number of bills introduced into the House and Senate was 14,114. The number of resolutions was 470, making a total of 14,584 bills and resolutions. When we adjourned there had been passed of these, 948 acts and resolves. On the calendars of the House were more than 2,000 bills and resolutions not acted upon, and the rest were in the pigeon holes of the committees undisturbed, or at least unreported. It will therefore be seen that the House did only six and a half per cent. of the business laid before it. Out of 14,584 a selection of 948 was made. The question which naturally arises is how was this selection made, how did it

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happen that these particular bills were passed upon and not the others. A detailed statement may help to make this clear. Among the bills passed were those which raised, or attempted to raise, revenue, bond bills, all the bills carrying the great appropriations for the support of the government, bridge bills, railroad right of way bills, private bills, and public bills of all descriptions.

Among those bills which were not passed were many which without the sanction of law or precedent proposed to pay large sums. Added to these were private claims, pension claims, individual schemes, and propositions to increase the salaries of our civil servants while we were borrowing money for the necessities of life.

To have passed the bills which were passed and all those which were presented would have been a task which could not have been accomplished even if the House had worked day and night for the whole period of two years.

Obviously, there are some things which have to be done. There are bills which must be passed. Unless revenue is furnished, even the ordinary function of government would be at an end. So also if the revenues were not properly appropriated according to law, the government could not go on, for its continuance costs money. Hence, under the rules of the House, the Committee of Ways and Means having charge of bills raising revenue, and the Committees on Appropriations obliged to provide for the expenditure of revenue, have a right of way which is thorough and complete. Whenever the House desires to take up such bills there is neither let nor hindrance. The country, therefore, can be sure that its necessities are provided for.

Besides these pressing necessities which cannot be denied, there are others which ought not to be denied. So far as the bills of this character carry money and require its expenditure, the rules do not offer very great facilities, and indeed could not. But if there be a pressing emergency calling for expenditures, the Committee on Rules has the right to submit to the House a proposition to consider the measure calculated to meet the emergency. If the House so desires the measure is then considered.

In this way were considered in the last Congress the Bill to Regulate Immigration, the Bankruptcy Bill, the Labor Commis-

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sion Bill, the Postal Bill relating to second-class mail, the Pacific Railroad Bill, and various others.

There are a great many measures which it would be impossible to treat in that special way, and for these the morning hour is provided, and now that the House has got used to this period the rule has worked well and every measure not involving any appropriation and which was of a public character was passed upon in the last House. Some of the bills on the House calendar to which this morning hour applies were not acted upon, but that was simply because the committee reporting did not care to urge them.

This morning hour was the invention of the Fifty-first Congress. The old morning hour was sixty minutes only, and no committee was allowed more than two days, and the very smallest kind of a filibuster would kill a bill which the great majority of the whole House might be desirous of making law. The new morning hour can be sixty minutes only, or, if the House chooses, may continue all day, and when a bill is once brought up it cannot be killed by mere indirection. During this period of time all, or about all, the work of the Judiciary Committee, which has charge of the changes of federal law, a portion of the work of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, which has charge of the transportation interests of the country, and of various other committees to a lesser degree, can and do receive consideration, and are disposed of. All the bridge bills and right of way bills are passed at this time.

After the Fifty-first Congress this rule, which has thus shown its value, was, owing to the high state of party feeling, changed back to the old death trap which existed prior to 1890. It was then deemed necessary to obliterate every possible trace of the Fifty-first Congress.

Time and experience, however, have shown the value of the changes which were made in those troublous times, and I may perhaps venture to say that many gentlemen who had been opposed in the Fifty-first Congress were not hostile in the Fifty-fourth Congress to the most efficient measures to give the majority control of the House. Among other things, we adopted, with hardly a word of dispute, the rule proposed sixteen years ago by Mr. Randolph Tucker, which will probably be found effective to secure a quorum at all times.

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Besides these bills the nature of which has been indicated, there are private bills which deal in the main with the personal claims of individual citizens. They are divided into money claims and pension claims, including removal of charges of desertion. The pension claims have Friday evening of each week set apart for their special consideration and other days by special order from the Committee on Rules. Friday itself is set apart for other claims.

Besides the business which pertains to the States and the Congressional Districts, the Congress has another class of business of great importance to the Territory interested. Besides being the legislative body for the whole Union, Congress is also the Municipal Council for the District of Columbia and City of Washington. Local self-government does not exist there, and whatever is done for the District is done by Congress. Much legislation gets into the District of Columbia Appropriation Bills. Nevertheless there is much to be done for the City of Washington, as much perhaps as for any similar city. This necessity is met under the Rules of the House by setting apart two Mondays in each month, the second and fourth, or so much as is found necessary. The Committee on the District on these days calls up such bills as it deems proper for consideration, and the bills are considered by the House or by the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union as determined by the nature of the bill. In this way all the matured and needful legislation is passed which the District requires.

It will be evident from the summary thus given that all the necessities of the government are promptly and thoroughly attended to and that whatever happens to the wishes of individuals the welfare of the great mass of the people is in the hands of their own chosen representatives.

The rest of the business indicated by the bills introduced comprises those bills of a private nature which are lost for lack of time and other bills which cannot be brought up because they are not in order from being too far down the list.

The greater number by far are private bills or those which, like Public Building bills, are for the benefit of particular localities. So few, however, of these private bills can be disposed of even at the expense of one-sixth of the time of Congress that out of that and out of other private and public exigencies,

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the custom has grown up at certain times to ask unanimous consent to take up one and another of these bills and also other bills to expend money. Under this system any one member can object and stop any action by the House. Each member has complete control and may object and defeat the bill or may help pass it. Without experience one would suppose that such a system was amply safeguarded and if a bill was so satisfactory that no one could object to it, there could be no danger in letting it be presented for passage. But, alas! the weakness of poor human nature, though of course not often prevalent, does certainly lurk in even celestial and Congressional minds. If a member objects he may be the subject of reprisals and his own bill may go to the tomb of the Capulets. Moreover, he hopes some one else will bear the burden and while he hesitates he is lost and the bill is gained. The *liberum veto* might do in Poland, but it is bad in Congress. However, the custom has been so established that it must be yielded to.

Now as to the method. If the presiding officer were simply to put down the names in the order of application all sorts of things would be presented without even one man knowing anything about them, and as soon as the list reached fair proportions all interest in it would cease, for it would only be superseding one list by another, and when that was done the special emergency idea would entirely disappear. It would not be possible, therefore, to adopt this plan, for it would wreck itself. Various expedients have been tried at various times with results not at all satisfactory. One House, that of the Forty-seventh Congress, I think, adopted a rule devoting an hour of sixty minutes of each day to such s, one for each committee in order. Under this arrangement bills were called up with a provision for five minutes for explanation, and if five members objected the bill was not considered. If five members did not object, then five minutes on a side were allowed for discussion and the proposition was then voted upon. Under this method, however, very few bills were passed. Objections were many and the hour was soon consumed. On two days during the second session of the Forty-seventh five bills only ran the gauntlet. The system in the general opinion was far from being successful, and was not long continued. The Speaker then under the present system has to make the selection, and an exceedingly troublesome

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task it is, requiring much labor and exciting not a little feeling. However, it is only just to the members to say that the trouble arises not so much from them, for they are in position to understand the Speaker's difficulties, as from the constituents who cannot understand them. The Speaker is also a member of the House. When he refuses to submit for unanimous consent, he is only exercising his right to object, a right which belongs to him in common with all the other members of the Assembly. He has to make more frequent objection because he has to know what the bills proposed or to be proposed are about and what their provisions mean. He has opportunities to examine them, and indeed must examine them to do his duty.

Another method of breaking the regular order, and one which unlike unanimous consent is sanctioned by the Rules of the House, is the method under "Suspension of the Rules." Some years ago the right to move to suspend the rules and pass a bill or resolution prevailed every Monday. In exciting political times all sorts of questions and abstract propositions which were presented to entrap members and put them in the wrong were presented on Monday. Some of them were so ingeniously drawn that the enemy were caught whichever way they voted. As no amendment was permitted and but little debate, only fifteen minutes on either side, there was often much trepidation among those who were liable to be impaled on at least one horn of the dilemma. The ordeal through which we had to pass got to be so annoying that when the rules were modified and classified in the Forty-sixth Congress, the power to entertain motions to suspend the rules was confined to two Mondays in the month, the first Monday and the third; committees had the right of way on the third and individual members on the first. Here, however, selections have to be made by the Speaker, and he has some of the same troubles to afflict him which present themselves on the propositions for unanimous consent. On the last six days also of a session rules may be suspended, but as the Houses in the first session seldom determine until very late the day of final adjournment the last six days of the first session are not so dreadful as those of the last session, where the House on the verge of dissolution has its last chance to enact the measure so dear to the member. At that time the struggle has driven many a Speaker to the verge of distraction. He can satisfy not five per cent. of

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his applicants, and, therefore, welcomes the final adjournment as the saint ought to welcome death and paradise.

In the proceedings of the English House of Commons there seems to be an entire absence of a large class of bills which clog our calendars and make miserable the lives of members. There are no private pension bills, because there each claimant is left to the administration of the general law, nor do there seem to be any claim bills at all. Parliament is not called upon to adjudicate questions of damages resulting from the dealings of the government with its citizens. Almost all their private bills are those which, under our system of government, belong to the State and other local authorities, our work in that direction being mostly confined to bridges over navigable waters over which the nation has control.

Notwithstanding, however, this immunity from that which worries us most of all and notwithstanding Parliament sits longer than we do, Sir Albert Rollit declared in 1894 that "business in the House of Commons had become more and more congested," and that in the case of non-official members 309 bills had been introduced, of which only 23 were passed and the ministers had hardly better fortune, for as he said of them, " The list of promises was long, of performances extremely short."

It is curious to notice how tremendous has been the increase in the presentation of bills by members of the House. In 1863-64 in the Thirty-eighth Congress the number was only 813. Such a number could be dealt with and all of them passed upon and decided. But who could dare to attempt to struggle with 10,378 ?

Perhaps a knowledge of the facts in this article may cause more reasonable feeling on the part of constituents as to the business which they entrust to their members and enable them to judge more justly of the difficulties in the way of their wishes. All human instrumentalities are imperfect and while they can be improved they can never meet the wishes of all. Indeed if they meet the wishes of the majority they will be fortunate.

Nothing has been said of the loss of time which might be utilized by action which owes its origin to the desire to address not the House, but the constituency ; for that seems to be inevitable It is the same in all countries, and has been the same in all ages. Undoubtedly it serves other purposes than display, and is part of

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the education of a free people. Still there are times when business propositions being numerous and the days few, one wishes that eloquence and speaking bore a closer resemblance to reasoning and deliberation.

It might as well be admitted at once that the faults of legislative bodies are not the faults of legislators alone, but in some degree of the people themselves. So long as we rate oratory too high and wisdom too low and gauge our representatives by the number of times they get into newspapers and not by what we ourselves know of their characters and abilities, so long we shall continue the desire for opportunities for display and fail to create the desire for opportunities to do service.

THOMAS B. REED.

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ENGLAND'S FOOD SUPPLY IN TIME OF WAR.

BY H. SETON-KARR, M. P.

On April 6, 1897, the following resolution, on the motion of the writer, seconded by Mr. R. Yerburgh, Conservative member for Chester, was, in a fairly well-attended House, accepted by the government, and unanimously adopted by the British House of Commons, viz.:

"That, in the opinion of this House, the dependence of the United Kingdom on foreign imports for the necessaries of life, and the consequences that might arise therefrom in the event of war, demand the serious attention of Her Majesty's government."

The grounds of its acceptance by the government were simply stated by Mr. Balfour. He said: "In the final resort, of course, our security rests upon the navy, and the navy alone, and if we have a navy adequate to protect our coasts, though the price of bread might rise to an alarming extent, and there might be difficulties and embarrassments, and the pinch of want might be felt, we need have no fear that we shall be starved into submission by continental nations. . . . I, both on my own behalf, and on behalf of the government, frankly accept the responsibility which the resolution throws upon us, and I heartily accept also the proposition that the strength of our navy shall be equal to the defence of our commerce as well as of our shores."

While the mover and supporters of the resolution were satisfied, for the time being at all events, to have it accepted by the House and the government, the above-quoted grounds for this acceptance did not altogether represent their views. An invincible navy is no doubt a necessity for the welfare and safety of Great Britain and its Empire. But an invincible navy is not, in the opinion of many, an altogether sufficient safeguard against all the possible risks of war. The wise commander of a fortress not only arms, but also provisions, his garrison; otherwise his arms

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and ammunition may possibly be useless. "There are three handmaidens," said King Henry V. of England, when he sat down before the city of Rouen to starve it into submission, "that attend upon War—Fire, Sword, and Famine—and I have chosen the meekest of the three;" and, he might have added, not the least persuasive.

It cannot therefore be assumed, as a matter of course, that England's food supply in time of war is a question for the navy alone. If this assumption were admitted this article would not be written. I propose shortly to deal with this question as one involving other considerations besides and in addition to the command of the sea, a point of view not altogether ignored by Mr. Balfour when he said (as quoted above) that "the price of bread might rise to an alarming extent."

As a preliminary point, I note that the terms of the resolution were criticised in the debate, and also subsequently in the press, as vague and general, and as containing no specific provision against the possible dangers in view. In answer to this it may be pointed out that the resolution was intentionally framed in general terms, as the main point was to obtain a government inquiry. The various remedies suggested traverse a wide field, and were in some cases of an alternative character. They could not all, by any possibility, be comprised in the terms of one resolution. To have inserted one—say protection, for example, or state granaries, both of which have their advocates—would only have resulted in alienating the support of many who nevertheless appreciated the dangers indicated in the general terms of the resolution, and were in favor of a government inquiry, by which means alone the real nature and effect, and the rival claims of the various possible and alternative remedies, can properly and adequately be ascertained and adjusted.

The facts of the case on which the resolution is founded are not a matter of controversy. The dependence of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on foreign imports for the necessaries of life is now a well-known and established fact. In addition to five-sixths of our breadstuffs (wheat and flour), we import such articles as butter, eggs, cheese, meat, fruit, sugar, vegetables, milk, lard, as well as oats and barley, in large and increasing quantities every year, the money value of our yearly imports of food being now put at £150,000,000.

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For the sake of simplicity I propose to deal solely with the imports of breadstuffs; although, so far as the other articles mentioned are concerned, the difference is one of degree only, and not of principle. But bread is the prime necessity of life, particularly for the wage-earning millions in the great industrial centres of the United Kingdom. It is the one article of food which they desire and expect to buy in reliable and sufficient quantity, and for which they are not prepared to pay a fluctuating or enhanced price. For the purposes of my argument, therefore, the figures of these imports will suffice.

The annual national consumption of wheat and flour in the United Kingdom now amounts to over 28,000,000 quarters of 480 pounds. This is obviously a steadily increasing figure along with the increase of our population. Of this amount about 19,000,000 quarters are imported from foreign countries, chiefly from the United States, Russia, and the Argentine Republic. This also appears to be, in the aggregate, an increasing quantity, though the relative amount imported from the different countries may vary a little from year to year. From British possessions—India, Australasia, and Canada—some 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 quarters are imported. This appears to be at present a somewhat decreasing quantity. The balance of our annual consumption, about 5,000,000 quarters, is produced at home, not taking into account about 2,000,000 quarters used for seed and farm purposes. This home production, needless to say, has been for the last fifty years a steadily decreasing quantity.

The net result is that five out of every six of the population of the British Isles (and some say this is understating the case) are fed on imported breadstuffs, and four out of these five, or two-thirds of the whole, are fed on imports exclusively foreign. Moreover, as things now are, these proportions will inevitably grow larger every year. As regards our reserve of breadstuffs, it is naturally difficult to ascertain the exact amount at any one time in the hands of the various millers and merchants throughout the country. But it may safely be stated that this reserve never exceeds three months' supply, and frequently sinks as low as one month's supply or less. On January 1, 1897, the amount of maize, wheat, and flour on British premises, as given in the published statistics, was only 2,133,000 quarters, or less than three weeks' supply. It is obvious that in the event of a declara-

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tion of war a monopoly for the time being would practically be created in breadstuffs, with so small a supply of this necessary of life held in private hands, and a rise in price would inevitably follow.

So much, then, for the bare facts of the case as they now stand with regard to England's yearly national supply of wheat and flour, and the sources from which it is derived. Let us take a glance at the situation from what I may term a comparative and historical point of view. The present dependence of the United Kingdom on foreign countries for its daily bread is unexampled and unprecedented in the history of the world. All the other Great Powers are practically self-supporting within their own borders. France is self-maintained. In the Franco-Prussian war she was never in fear of famine or starvation, except in beleagured towns, and then only from want of commissariat organization and foresight. Germany, Austria, and Italy, the countries forming the Triple Alliance, produce about three-quarters of their national requirements of the necessaries of life in time of peace, and in time of war could no doubt support themselves if necessary. Even Germany, the least productive country relatively to her population of the three, has during the ten years from 1883 to 1893, and notwithstanding her great recent growth in industrial prosperity, increased her wheat area by 300,000 acres. Russia and the United States are not only self-supporting, but are the two greatest grain-exporting countries in the world. England alone, with the widest Empire, and the largest industrial population—relatively to her area—of them all, is the solitary exception, and lives from hand to mouth. Her food supplies are chiefly sea-borne, over ocean routes thousands of miles in length; and two-thirds of her yearly national consumption of breadstuffs come from countries over whose internal policy she has no control, and against whose commercial and fiscal policy she has, by her adoption of Free Trade, deliberately deprived herself of all means of retaliation. The position may or may not be sound, but it is certainly absolutely unique, not only as compared with other countries, but also in her own history. In 1812, when England was at war with both France and America, and when her population was less than half what it is now, she was self-supporting, and imported no wheat or flour. Yet it is a remarkable fact, to be noted in passing, that the price of the quartern loaf at that time rose to one shilling

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and eightpence, and bread riots occurred in many of our large towns. This high price of bread was obviously not caused by war-risk to ocean commerce, but probably arose from the operations of the press-gang interfering with agriculture. The occurrence, however, is a significant illustration of the sensitiveness of the price of bread under adverse circumstances. In 1840, according to "Porter's Progress of the Nation," the population of Great Britain was 17,500,000, of whom 16,500,000 were fed on home-grown wheat; Ireland at that time being entirely self-supporting. In 1843, Cobden himself estimated that of our yearly national consumption of 21,000,000 quarters of wheat, we only imported 1,000,000 quarters, producing 20,000,000 quarters at home. With 15,000,000 less population to feed than now, the United Kingdom at that time—fifty years ago—had over double the wheat area it now possesses, and produced at home more than nineteen-twentieths of its national requirements. It is perfectly certain that England's present dependence on foreign food supplies not only did not exist at that time, but that it was never even contemplated as a possible contingency by Cobden and his disciples. Nothing in this connection is more remarkable than Cobden's own arguments on this point. For example, in a speech in 1844 he said:

> "These philosophical men, so profoundly ignorant of what is immediately around them, will tell us that Free Trade will throw their land out of cultivation. I predict with Lord Ducie and others that, so far from throwing land out of use, Free Trade in corn is the very way to increase the production at home, and stimulate the cultivation of the poorer soils by compelling the application of more capital and labor to them. We do not (in consequence of Free Trade in corn) anticipate having one quarter less corn from the soil of this country."

This argument Cobden constantly reiterated on many occasions and in every possible form. It has been completely and even ridiculously falsified by the result. England's wheat area at that time was over 4,000,000 acres. It is now under 2,000,000 acres, and is steadily decreasing in inverse ratio to the growth of her population. Whatever else Cobden may have been, it is clear that as a prophet he was an absolute failure. In fact, were he alive now, he would be logically bound by his own arguments, and in view of the total failure of his prophecies, to advocate the reimposition of the corn duties as strenuously as fifty years ago he advocated their abolition.

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Since Cobden's successful crusade against the corn laws, and coincidently with the increase of wheat cultivation in Russia, in the great virgin wheat belt of Western North America, and in silver-using countries, such as India and the Argentine Republic, whence the development of steam power and rapid ocean transit, undreamt of by our forefathers, enables foreign produce to undersell the British farmer in his own market town, England's wheat area has gradually but steadily decreased, and foreign imports have as steadily increased along with her population, until the present position of dependence has been arrived at. It must also be noted that since 1853 England has been engaged in no European war by which the situation could be tested. But it is a significant fact that even the Crimean War, which was in no sense a naval war, and in which our naval commerce was never even threatened, had the effect of sending up wheat from fifty-five shillings to seventy-five shillings per quarter, and the price of the quartern loaf then rose in London to one shilling and fourpence.

Finally, and to complete this brief historical survey, England's naval supremacy against any possible combination is not at present, at all events on paper, the absolute mathematical certainty it once was. During the past ten years what may be described as an era of acute naval rivalry has commenced for unhappy Europe, already groaning under the burden of great land armaments. The following is an extract from an article by the naval correspondent of the *Daily Graphic* of April 15, 1897, under the heading of "The Command of the Sea":

"The terrible power of fleets has been only too clearly grasped by the nations of the Continent, who are anxious to avail themselves of this arm, whether for use against each other or against England, with whom they have so many causes of quarrel. In the past ten years Russia has constructed a new and powerful fleet; Germany has developed a small, but admirable navy, while England has made extraordinary efforts. And now France meditates a great increase of her navy, professing alarm lest she should be distanced by her own rival and by Germany. The naval party in France are turning their eyes to a colonial policy, and to carry out such a policy must be able to speak with England in her gates. When they point to the vast progress which the British navy has made in the last decade—its steady expansion, its 200 odd new ships, its increase in men—they hurriedly pass over the fact that, with all this advance, she is not by any means certain of commanding the sea against the Dual Alliance (France and Russia), and that without the command of the sea England becomes an isolated fortress, liable to be starved into surrender. . . . A power which has no ally, and

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which is vulnerable, to quote M. "La Poulaine" in fully five times as many points as France. . . . The young school in France, which advocates the bombardment of open towns, the attack upon our commerce, and the abandonment of the armored battleship, is just now particularly active. It wishes to see a large number of very fast cruisers, steaming twenty-five knots or more, constructed for the express purpose of commerce destruction. . . . The vulnerability of British commerce (its mercantile marine is worth, at the lowest figure, £130,000,000) has profoundly impressed Frenchmen."

The article contains a good deal more to the same effect, including the following:

"Said M. de Kerjégu, the reporter on the French Estimates: 'The cause of England's greatness will be a cause of weakness to her in war. Her daily life, her essential interests, are subordinated to the arrival and departure of her merchant shipping. . . . At the simple menace of a conflict with a great maritime Power the rates of insurance would rise to enormous figures.' The fact that we (England) import £150,000,000 worth of food annually, besides raw material, which is the food of our manufactories, is also noted by him."

From a strictly naval point of view this article appears to pile up the agony a little too high; and also seems to ignore the "personal equation" point of view, as well as the fact that England can build, and even man, a second fleet, if the necessity arises, more quickly by far than any of her rivals. But, with this discount, the criticism is powerful enough.

Under all these circumstances, then, the question an Englishman naturally asks himself is this: Do the lessons of history in any way justify the belief that any country can afford to depend so largely on foreigners for the necessaries of life, having in view the risk of war with one or more maritime powers, least of all a densely populated island empire like our own?

In spite of the boasted civilization of this nineteenth century, war is a contingency that must be reckoned with, and the Universal Peace Society can only at present be regarded as a "nebular hypothesis." So far as Europe is concerned, every one who reads the daily papers must admit that a European war in the near future is not an impossible event. Greece and Turkey are fighting at the present moment, and how or when this war will end, and whether or no other European countries will ultimately be drawn into the strife, no man can at present say. Outside the European arena the possibilities of war are not perhaps so great.

In this connection I desire shortly to consider the relations

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of England and the United States. The Anglo-American arbitration treaty, an outcome of wise statesmanship on both sides of the Atlantic, has not yet passed the American Senate. Whether or not it will do so sooner or later, the feeling of which that treaty is the outward and visible sign has a real and widespread existence.

The possibility of war between England and America, the *two great English-speaking, civilized, and civilizing* powers of the world, is certainly regarded on this side of the Atlantic, and probably on both, as infinitely remote. During the height of the so-called Venezuelan crisis, a little more than a year ago, nothing was more remarkable than the calm and pacific tone in relation thereto shown by the English people and the English press, in sharp contrast to the belligerent attitude, to say nothing of the commission of a flying squadron, evoked by the now historic telegram of the German Emperor. All this is now ancient history. But the difference in feeling was clear and unmistakable. Every Englishman believes in the unfortunate possibility of an Anglo-European war. No Englishman believes in the real possibility of an Anglo-American war. The two countries are united by ties of blood, religion, and language. They have vast financial and commercial relations. They would, in the event of war—whatever its result—inflict on one another incalculable damage and loss. They have no conflicting interests, territorial or otherwise—Canada not excepted—sufficient to justify such an international calamity. All these circumstances should combine to render such an event impossible. These considerations directly affect my argument. Half the exports from the United States to England are, in fact, breadstuffs, and of this commodity alone these exports supply more than one-third of our yearly national consumption. To deprive American wheat-producers and grain-shippers of their most valuable market would inflict material injury on American prosperity. Let us suppose that a combination of European powers against England declared food to be contraband of war. Such a declaration of international law has generally been opposed to American policy on general international grounds. For the special reasons mentioned above, and again to quote Mr. Balfour, "this theoretical prepossession would be stimulated by the strongest motives of personal interest." At the same time it may be remarked that

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Uncle Sam would hardly declare war in order to enforce this view except for his own hand.

The position therefore appears to be clear up to a certain point. The possibility of America prohibiting the export of breadstuffs, or joining in any European declaration that food is contraband of war, may be dismissed from our minds. Yet the war risk for ocean commerce will still remain. A combination of European powers against England, bent on some national aggrandizement, would not stick at trifles. Our navy would be amply occupied in meeting hostile fleets, in blockading hostile ports, in guarding our shores, and in protecting as far as possible our inter-colonial commerce and our vast mercantile marine. We should have an immense coast line to protect—a vast extent of sea to patrol. With twenty-five-knot hostile cruisers bent on commerce destruction, what, we may well ask, would the rate of war insurance rise to for American and Argentine grain ships across three or four thousand miles of ocean? The Mediterranean trade route, in the event of a Franco-Russian combination, would practically be closed for commerce, and possibly St. George's Channel. The Atlantic route to the north of Ireland could probably be kept fairly well open. By some means, no doubt, our food supplies would be landed, but we should have to supply the protecting battleships and cruisers, and we should certainly be compelled to pay the war-risk price. What this price would be it is difficult to estimate. The extraordinary development of modern naval armaments has largely altered all previously existing conditions. But some small idea of the commercial risk involved, and the consequent rise of price, may be obtained from the experience of the American Civil War. No doubt this was an extreme case. The Southern States had no navy, although the "Alabama" succeeded, single-handed, in paralyzing American commerce, and practically driving, for the time being, the American trading flag off the seas. But, in spite of the "Alabama," Southern ports were in a condition of absolute blockade. No ordinary steamers ran. Rates of insurance, we are told, on blockade runners rose 900 per cent. Wages of seamen rose 300 per cent. The price of commodities rose in proportion. Salt, for example, bought at thirty shillings per ton, is said to have been sold, after a successful blockade run, at £340 per ton. Grain and meat, in this case, did not require

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to be imported at all, being home-produced. What their prices might have run to under these conditions, if required to be imported, it is, perhaps, too startling to contemplate. No one, of course, supposes for a moment that with our present navy, England's coast line could be blockaded in such a manner. If such an event were possible, and when it happened, England's Empire and her greatness would be gone. But there are many degrees of comparison between a condition of absolute blockade and a condition of open ocean trade routes, while England in her network of ocean commerce, and with her bread-larder abroad, is beyond comparison more vulnerable now in this respect than any country ever previously known to history. One or two modern and unscrupulous 25-knot commerce-destroyers on the loose in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans might very seriously affect the domestic economy of millions of British homes, while Britannia and her navy remained for all general purposes the Mistress of the Seas.

The question of England's food supply in time of war appears to resolve itself then into one of price, however powerful her navy may be; and the price might run so high as to cause serious suffering, disturbance, and riot at home. It is here that we differ from the "invincible navy and nothing else" school. I am still insular enough to believe that the population of these islands is made of the same kind of stuff as its ancestors, and would, if the necessity arose, and in the last resort, worry through any reasonable, or, for the matter of that, unreasonable, amount of starvation and riot at home, as well as fighting abroad, even under the conditions I have endeavored to describe, rather than compromise ingloriously with its foes. But I am also convinced that the ordeal would be a severe one, severer perhaps than anything we have ever faced before, and if some practicable means can be found to minimize or insure against the risk of starvation involved, it would be well to ascertain and adopt them.

We are all familiar with the arguments of the economic school. The position, they tell us, is inevitable. Our country has nailed the colors of Free Trade to the mast. Nothing must be done to raise the price of the people's food, even by a hair's-breadth. We are bound to import from the cheapest markets, however much our wheat area at home may continue to diminish, and our agricultural industry to decay.

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It is obvious that these arguments altogether ignore and leave out of the question the principle of reasonable national insurance against risk. On a declaration of war, we may be told, an adequate supply of wheat and flour can at once be purchased, and be made a matter of imperial expenditure, if necessary. This is somewhat on the principle of insuring one's house against fire after the fire has broken out. The price or rate of insurance, after the event, is generally prohibitive. Our point is that national provision should be made beforehand, when it can be done at a reasonable rate. England no doubt is rich, and the imperial purse is deep, and the shoulders of the individual consumer could in any event be partially relieved from the direct burden of a war-priced loaf. But the purchase of adequate food supplies made in the hurry and panic of a declaration of war would impose a severe tax on the community at large, and indirectly fall on the consumer in the end.

It is not my intention within the limits of this article to deal, except in the briefest manner, with the various remedies or means of national insurance against war-priced foods that have been suggested. It is sufficient here to remark that, in addition to an adequate navy, some insurance against war famine, some national reserve of wheat for example, sufficient to tide over any possible emergency, should in our opinion be provided beforehand. The natural place for such a reserve is in the land, the barns and stackyards of the United Kingdom, to be obtained only by some form of encouragement or protection that would ensure to the British farmer a remunerative price for his produce, and some safeguard against unfair foreign competition. There are many who believe that this result could be obtained by moderate protective duties, on a sliding scale, directed chiefly against depreciated-silver-using countries, without materially affecting the consumers' market. It may possibly still be true, it certainly used to be true, that a strong prejudice exists in the minds of England's laboring classes against any form of protection on food. But I am one of many who now believe that our system of Free Trade is no longer a principle to be blindly worshipped, but a question of expediency to be inquired into, and if necessary modified for some sufficient counterbalancing advantage. The idea is spreading and taking root, and will some day, I believe, bear practical fruit. A comparatively small rise in the price of wheat,

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and one that could confidently be relied on by the British farmer, would in a year or two largely increase our wheat area; and when it is remembered that about quadruple our present wheat-acreage, say 8,000,000 acres, or about one-sixth of the whole cultivable area of the kingdom, would supply us with all the bread we need, this solution of the difficulty does not appear altogether impossible.

Another step in the right direction, from England's point of view at all events, is the growing feeling in favor of colonial commercial federation that now exists. The well-known resolution of the Ottawa conference of 1894 in favor of a preferential customs arrangement between England and her colonies, Mr. Chamberlain's speech in London of March 25, 1896, in favor of some such arrangement, in which our colonies must join, on the principle of the German Zollverein, and last, but not least, the new preferential tariff bill, recently introduced by the Dominion government in the Ottawa House of Commons, under which preference will be given to British products, all mark a new era in our intercolonial history. This movement affects my present argument in this respect—that it must tend to the encouragement of colonial rather than foreign agricultural imports to this country, and so relieve our present large dependence on imports exclusively foreign. The latent capacity of India, Australasia, and particularly Canada, with some encouragement, to supply England with all the surplus agricultural produce she may require is undoubted. It is an additional favorable factor in the case that our communication with Canada is along the shortest and the most easily protected ocean trade route to our shores.

Rudyard Kipling's recent verses on the new Canadian tariff bill may well be quoted here:

"A nation spoke to a nation—
A throne sent word to a throne:
'Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in my own!
The gates are mine to open,
As the gates are mine to close,
And I abide by my mother's house,'
Said our Lady of the Snows."

The last suggested remedy I will briefly mention is a reserve of wheat in national granaries at home. The idea, no doubt, is a new one to the generality of Englishmen, who may never have

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seen an American grain elevator, even in a dream, and whose idea of storage is sacks in a barn. It is an alternative remedy until we arrive at the happy condition of growing our wheat at home, and no doubt possesses some drawbacks, more apparent, I think, than real, to the inexperienced mind. It is stated, for instance, that the wheat would not keep, that the experiment would be too costly, and that it would be too great an interference with legitimate trade. To all these objections there are, to my mind, sufficient answers, which it is, perhaps, unnecessary to recapitulate here. These questions form appropriate subject matter for the government inquiry which we desire, and which, in the end, I venture to think we shall obtain. We live, like our cousins across the Atlantic, in a time of popular institutions and representative government. Our great industrial constituencies have long since determined in their own interests that England shall possess an adequate navy to guard her shores and preserve her markets. For the same reasons we may anticipate that sooner or later these constituencies will also insist on some additional and reasonable security being provided against famine-priced food in time of war.

H. SETON-KARR.

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POPULAR ERRORS IN LIVING AND THEIR INFLUENCE OVER THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

BY CHARLES W. PURDY, M. D.

It seems altogether probable, if indeed not already assured, that the next and greatest advance in medical science will be the mastery of the art of preventing disease. In fact, the trend of medical thought and energy has been surely in the direction of this object for a number of years. It is true that the amount of disease which an educated physician is able successfully to cope with to-day, when armed with our modern resources and methods, seems very great, if compared with that which was possible to the medical man in the days of our fathers; yet this appears to be dwarfed almost into insignificance beside the measure of pain and life it seems possible to save by means of preventive measures.

A subject that so intimately concerns the welfare of the public at large; that is so deeply important in its bearings upon the state, society, business, and domestic life; and withal a study so eminently altruistic in its nature, cannot but command our attention and most careful consideration.

In order to attain the greatest success in the preservation of health, the prevention of disease, and the prolongation of life, something more is necessary than the discovery of disease germs, and of effectual measures for their destruction. It is necessary for the public to understand more thoroughly that health, like financial capital, must be earned if possessed; that, though sometimes a legacy, it remains with the possessor as a reserve only when guarded with the same care as is a bank account; that overdrafts, beyond legitimate living or running expenses, will surely impair the principal; and that, if these be continued, the health must inevitably become bankrupt sooner or

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later, in direct proportion to the amount of reserve capital, and the number and extent of the overdrafts made upon it. It seems high time, then, that more widespread and efficient measures be adopted for the purpose of educating the general public in those physiological laws, the observance of which most surely conserve the bodily health, erect the strongest barriers against the encroachments of disease, and thus conduce to the attainment of long life. It seems well nigh a reproach to modern civilization that the higher the plane of intelligence, education, and social attainments reached by most peoples, the greater the public tendency to live unphysiological lives, and history unerringly tells us that to this source we may invariably look for the first evidences of physical decadence. The ancient Greek, through his sacred regard for and scrupulous observation of physiological laws, comparatively imperfect as his understanding of them was, succeeded in building up a physical type of manhood that has ever since challenged the admiration of the world. It was not, indeed, until dominated by the more wealthy and aggressive Roman, that, in the assimilation of his seductive luxuries and excesses of life, his splendid physical attainment began to become undermined. The same alluring influences that beguiled the mind of the philosophic Greek into forgetfulness of his lofty physical ideals have ever operated more or less markedly upon all subsequent nations, and that, as a rule, in proportion to their acquirement of wealth and social elevation, nor is our own fair land and more practical people without danger from this very source.

The problem, then, presented for our consideration finds its solution in the answer to the simple question, How shall we best live? In briefly reviewing some of the more prominent factors that go to make up the reply to this question, it may be premised that this discussion is intended to apply more especially to the life and habits of our own American people. The writer holds that if a man who is born of healthy parents, and who is himself healthy at birth, become seriously disabled in health before the age of from 65 to 70, barring accidents or infectious disease, it is solely because he has not lived properly.

Beginning with the subject of food, it may be emphatically stated that the greatest dietary sin of the average American is his meat-eating propensity. He devours this brawn-producing

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food upon all occasions, and upon all the calendar days of the year, even ecclesiastical days not excepted. Indeed, it would seem that the less occasion he has to call upon his muscular resources—or, in other words, the more sedentary his habits—the more he reinforces his muscular system by his habitual consumption of animal food. It is not uncommon, especially among the well-to-do of our population, to see butchers' meat served with every meal, either as the chief or as the adjunct course. Now the amount of butchers' meat that a man of ample appetite will consume when thus regularly spread before him on practically all occasions represents to his excretory organs a tax in its disposal that is physiologically prodigious.

Man belongs essentially to the class of omnivora, and therefore his physical mechanism has been so adjusted that his health is best promoted by drawing upon all the ordinary products of the earth for his food supply. His love of variety may safely lead him to gratify his palate from practically all sources comprising the gift of nature to the animal kingdom, but assuredly he may not confine himself very largely to any one of these sources without reaping the certain penalty of impaired health, or even of premature death; and to no article in the whole list of food supply does this apply with more force than to flesh foods. In order to make clear the physiology of this fact, attention may first be called to the axiom that the disorders of the human mechanism which occur after adult or middle life are largely those that are due to the inability of the organism to rid itself of waste materials; in other words, these diseases are but expressions of the loss of balance between excretion and ingestion. As contributing to this loss of balance, the waste or by-products of flesh foods are among the largest and most common factors, as will be immediately explained. Cooked meat, as ordinarily served upon the table, represents the very high range of nitrogenous composition of 27 per cent. The lean portion holds the great bulk of the nitrogenous contents of the meat; elements which the system is enabled to utilize only in relatively small amounts, chiefly for the purpose of renewing waste of muscular tissue (3 to 5 ounces of meat per day); while the great bulk of those elements that maintain the various operations of the economy, as represented by heat and force, must be supplied by the hydrogen and carbon groups of

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foods (twenty to thirty ounces per day). The excessive use of highly nitrogenized foods, of which butchers' meat is the type, therefore leads to an accumulation of nitrogenous waste products in the blood, which, unless they be to the fullest extent metamorphosed and oxidized by active exercise, act injuriously upon the organism, damaging the organs and functions which maintain life. Among the pernicious effects of an accumulation of nitrogenous waste products in the blood is the premature hardening of the arteries, entailing all those dangers from arterial hemorrhage of which apoplexy is the type, and in addition early impairing nutrition, so that the meat-eater grows old before his time. Indeed, it is well known that excessive meat-eating ages man more quickly than any other excess except alcoholism. The ill effects of the excessive use of animal food upon the circulatory system are by no means confined, however, to the arteries. A large proportion of those who are intemperate in this way are subject to progressive enlargement of the heart, and, since this inevitably leads to degeneration of the cardiac muscle, such people are exceedingly prone to sudden death from so-called "heart-failure," or collapse of that organ. The extra tax imposed upon certain glandular and excretory organs in elaborating and eliminating the waste products consequent upon a large consumption of meat foods results in such enormous functional overwork that these organs not infrequently begin to fail about middle life, and soon after fifty years of age they often break down completely. Thus by far the largest number of cases of primary Bright's disease (interstitial neptisitis) are directly caused by this practice. We have amongst us a certain type or class of people, which is certainly very large numerically, and which may be designated briefly by the following characteristics: They are typically healthy or even robust in appearance, inclined to rather full habit of body, but are sedentary in their habits, taking but little exercise; they possess ample appetites, which, as a rule, they gratify without stint and largely upon butcher-meat. Now, as a matter of careful observation, of the large and increasing number of cases of acquired Bright's disease among us, we may safely estimate 90 per cent. of the cases as belonging to this class. Again, the excessive use of animal foods, especially when coupled with

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sedentary habits of life, solves the greater part of such problems as the frequency among our people of such diseases as rheumatism and gout, in which respects we bid fair to outstrip our so-called "beef-eating" cousins on the opposite side of the Atlantic.

It should not be supposed that animal foods are best avoided altogether, but it is of the greatest possible importance that the supply be as nearly limited to the requirements of the system as possible, and it should especially be remembered that these requirements are much smaller in people of sedentary life than in those of active habits. In some respects the excessive use of animal food is more harmful than excessive use of vegetable foods, because the system is able to appropriate only a limited quantity of the former. The human organism possesses no resources for storing away excess of nitrogenous elements, and, therefore, the waste, or by-products of animal food, must be disposed of by complicated processes, through delicately constructed mechanisms. With vegetable foods it is somewhat different, since the excess may be stored up for future use, chiefly in the form of fat, while the waste, or by-products thereof, for the most part, find exit through the comparatively more direct and less complicated mechanism of the intestinal canal. Habits of exclusive vegetarianism, however, are not advised, though a moderate approach to such a standard has much to recommend it, as tending to promote health and long life. This fact was strongly brought out by Sir George Humphry, who carefully investigated the life histories of centenarians in England. His report was published by the Collective Investigation Committee of the British Medical Association in 1887. Of the thirty-seven people who had lived over one hundred years, the following features appear in the report: three took no animal food, four took very little, twenty a small amount, ten a moderate amount, and only one habitually took much meat.

Next in order of the more serious dietary errors common among our people is the excessive use of sweets and starchy foods. Those foods whose chief contents consist of starch and sugar form a group chemically known as carbo-hydrates, and their chief use in the economy of the body is the production of heat and force. They occupy precisely the same relationship to the human mechanism that coal does to the steam engine; indeed, by the same

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process in both are heat and force evolved—viz., by the oxidation or combustion of carbon. Owing to its more perfect, though more complicated, mechanism, the human apparatus is enabled to extract from the fuel one part of force to five parts of heat; while the most perfect steam engine yet constructed has only been able to extract from its fuel about one part of force to eight parts of heat. The human mechanism possesses another economic advantage over the steam engine in the utilization of its fuel; within certain limits the excess of fuel employed (starches and sugars) is converted into fat and stored up in the organism for future use. While, however, possessing such high economic advantages over the steam engine in the utilization of its fuel, the human mechanism possesses one serious drawback. It is more complex and intricate in construction, and in its operations it is more liable to get out of order, especially when an excess of fuel (food) is employed while the apparatus is running at low pressure. Herein precisely lies the error entailed by the habits of a large proportion of our well-to-do people with regard to the use of carbo-hydrate foods (starches and sugars). They live at high pressure in the amount of heat and force producing agents consumed, while in the utilization of heat and force, in their sedentary habits, they live at very low pressure.

Once introduced into the stomach, amylaceous and saccharine foods (starches and sugars) must pass through one of two processes; either (*a.*) they must undergo the first step in the normal process of digestion and then pass on to the liver for further transformation, or (*b.*) they must undergo destructive fermentation, with resulting liberation of large quantities of gas, which entails all those discomforts and symptoms known as flatulent dyspepsia. It seems perfectly reasonable, then, that if the human mechanism have submitted to it more carbo-hydrates than it can dispose of within a limited time, waste with the above-described consequences is more than likely to ensue. In other words, and to follow our former metaphor still further, the overstoking of the human engine with fuel chokes the firebox, the fuel becomes wasted, and the whole mechanism becomes clogged and disabled for efficient action. Such is the inevitable consequence of overloading all naturally weak stomachs with carbo-hydrate foods, and the practical physician well knows that one of the best remedies for this evil is to substitute green vegetables for

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sweet and starchy ones, because the former will not ferment into gases even if they be not digested.

In some cases, the stomach possesses more than the average digestive power, and under such circumstances a relatively large amount of sweets and starches may pass the stomach in assimilable form. In such cases the extra tax falls upon the liver, because one of the chief functions of that organ is to elaborate the glycogen (transformed starch) into fat. Habitual overtaxation of the liver leads to functional impairment of that organ, and if continued it is likely to result in time in organic disease. The conditions so commonly characterized as "bilious attacks," i. e., headaches, furred tongue, and transient nervous storms, accompanied by decided depression of spirits, are due to the escape of bile derivatives into the circulation. With long-continued recurrences of these manifestations, the skin assumes a more or less sallow hue, indicative of chronic bile poisoning. Many of these subjects acquire in time organic changes in the liver. A few of them develop gall stones, which entail acute and not unfrequently fatal suffering; while a very considerable proportion of them run on into diabetes—a disease that has increased in frequency in the United States one hundred and fifty per cent. within the last forty years.

It is not to be understood that all excessive consumers of amylaceous and saccharine foods pay the penalties just described. The stomach and liver in many cases will withstand the extra work imposed upon them without impairment or breakdown, and, when they do so, we are enabled to trace the metamorphosis of starches and sugars to their ultimate normal form in the organism, that is, fat. The decided tendency of our well-to-do people to become unduly stout as they arrive at middle age furnishes a striking example of this chemico-physiological transformation of starches and sugars, as will be clearly evidenced by a glance at the habitual diet list of this class of people. While it is by no means denied that other factors in a measure contribute to the production of obesity, yet that condition is, in the main, due to the generous use of carbo-hydrate foods. Now, with all the traditional and actual amplitude of good nature that accompanies amplitude of body, it cannot be truthfully asserted that corpulence or obesity is a good thing, so far as the efficiency or durability of the physical mechanism is concerned. It may be laid down as a

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general proposition that fat people are comparatively short lived. Marked accumulations of fat in the human organism impede normal processes of oxidation, and moreover they tend to produce atrophy of the muscular system, and ultimately they favor degenerative changes in certain vital organs, notably so in the heart. Moreover, it cannot be successfully maintained that the stout man possesses more strength and endurance than the man of moderate weight, although, paradoxical as it may seem, the former has stored up within him much larger amounts of potential force (fat). The truth is, the fat man has utilized too much of his working space for the storage of his fuel and therefore his machinery is crowded and restricted in its natural operation. While, therefore, his movements are ponderous, they lack the poise and precision which make those of the man of moderate weight more effective. In addition to this, the fat man encounters a similar disadvantage to that from which our modern Atlantic liners suffer—too much of his energy and force is expended in carrying his increased avordupois ; his machinery is, therefore, constantly subjected to abnormal strain when in motion, and consequently it is liable to premature wearing out or complete breakdown.

Another error to be noted, and one which there is reason to fear is scarcely less common among our people and certainly not less serious in its consequences, consists in the excessive quantity of food consumed. To the lay mind nothing seems to augur so strongly in favor of robust health as a hearty appetite. Furthermore, there would seem to be a strong conviction in the public mind, sanctified by tradition from time almost immemorial, that the more a man eats the better he is. The quantity of food that many people *naturally* eat is very large as compared with their actual physiological requirements ; add to this the many tempting forms in which food is presented to the palate by our modern culinary arts, the sharpening of the appetite by the ante-prandial cocktail, the stimulus afforded the appetite by a bottle of good wine, and the result is often the consumption of an amount of food that simply overwhelms the assimilative organs. Such indulgence, if unrestricted and habitual, taxes both the assimilative and the excretory organs to their highest capacity, especially when coupled with sedentary life, and moreover it lends an additional impetus to the evils springing from the use of improper quality of food, which have already been

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considered. The human elaborating and excretory mechanism was evidently adjusted for ordinary wear and tear to an average limited period of about seventy years. Under 40 per cent. of extra work we must naturally expect impairment or breakdown of the mechanism much earlier. It should, therefore, excite no special surprise that so large a proportion of our well-to-do people die from Bright's disease, heart failure, and allied diseases at fifty or fifty-five, who should, and under properly regulated lives and habits would, have attained the natural ages of seventy or over. Paradoxical though it may seem, such people usually spring from exceptionally healthy stock, and often point with pride to the fact that their immediate ancestors lived to advanced ages of eighty years or more. This paradox, however, is more apparent than real, for investigation will usually reveal the fact that, for the most part, the parents in such cases were people of more simple habits, such as corresponded with New England life seventy-five or a hundred years ago. The truth is that the well-to-do man of to-day lives in a faster age than that of his father and grandfather; he meets with greater opportunities and possibilities, and therefore greater stimulus to all his energies; he more easily acquires pecuniary resources, and in larger amounts, and therefore he possesses greater luxuries of domestic life. With these come greater temptations to excess. While he has often inherited a splendid constitution from his ancestors, unlike them he has run his physical mechanism at a breakdown rate, and it must of necessity more quickly wear out.

Before quitting the subject of food, it may prove profitable to consider briefly some of our popular beverages. As a rule, Americans consume too much sugar in their beverages. Thousands of drug-stores reap their most handsome profits during the summer season in dispensing the most atrocious compounds under the name of "soda water." These preparations are saturated with cheap sugar, are often made up of poor water flavored with various extracts and aromatics, and are entirely destitute of the article from which the name is derived—soda. Recently it has become the custom to add the various forms of ice-creams to these compounds, and to present the whole mixed problem to a physiologically astonished stomach and liver through the seductive agency of so-called silver spoons. At the dinner-table cham-

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pagne is perhaps the favorite alcoholic indulged in by those who can afford it; and the average quart bottle of champagne contains about one-eighth of a pound of sugar. Those of more moderate means content themselves with sauterne or sherry, which contains rather less than half as much sugar as champagne, while many still more economically inclined patronize domestic wines, some of which average about half a pound of sugar to each quart bottle.

At our open-air resorts so largely patronized by the populace in summer the aristocrat may indulge in his favorite champagne, or he may follow the example of the man of more plebeian palate and purse and gratify his thirst with beer, which contains an average of six grains of sugar to each ounce. It will be readily seen that habitual use of any of the beverages named entails the consumption of large amounts of sugar; so that it becomes a matter of comparative indifference from which of these sources a man derives his headache or indigestion; for, be it remembered, that, as a rule, it is the sugar, and not the alcohol, that is responsible for both.

In the consideration of general habits, nothing seems more strikingly characteristic of the American than his indomitable love of physical repose. It is by no means intended, even inferentially, to accuse him of indolence, which it would be clearly unjust to do, but he is, *par excellence*, the man of sedentary life. Gifted with ingenuity and mechanical handicraft scarcely approached by the man of any other nation, he has turned these gifts somewhat largely to account in providing substitutes for his legs. The rapid development of the various systems of transit in the United States within a comparatively few years has rendered the covering of distances so convenient, speedy, comfortable, and withal so cheap, that walking has almost gone out of fashion with us. In addition to this, the systematic development of the various departments of service, the high state of efficiency of the post, telegraphic, and telephone systems, have tended to diminish more and more the necessity of getting about, and to confine the man of business to his office; for, as a matter of fact, many men now conduct all the ramifications of extensive business enterprises without leaving the office desk. Nor is it alone in business relations that Americans are emphatically sedentary. In recreations and amusements the same tendency has largely pre-

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vailed. Relaxation and amusement are sought at the theatre perhaps more largely and uniformly by our people than by any other. If a man, however, really determines that he needs fresh air to improve his health, it is the fashion to go for a carriage ride, and thus he generously gives to his horse that which he himself most needs—a little wholesome exercise. At the present time it is seriously believed by some observers that our people are on the eve of a muscular revolution, and the widespread use of the bicycle lends color to this belief. There can be no doubt that a continuance so general of this delightful and wholesome practice must ultimately result in substantial benefit to the public health. If practised with ordinary intelligence and discretion, bicycling furnishes an ideal type of exercise, which would decidedly tend to counteract the pernicious effects of our sedentary habits, and this applies emphatically to our women as well as to our men.

As standing in close relationship to our sedentary tendencies it may be noted that, in our northern latitudes, our dwellings, stores, and offices are almost constantly overheated during the colder months. When living and sleeping in an atmosphere, the temperature of which is but a few degrees below that of blood heat, but little call is made upon the heat and force producing agents taken in as food. Besides, an overheated atmosphere invites the blood to the surface of the body, thereby largely maintaining an artificial circulation in the capillaries (small vessels). This impairs the tone and vigor of the heart's action, because that organ is thus relieved of a very considerable portion of its work. When the artificial heat is withdrawn and the body comes into contact with the cool air, the blood recedes from the surface, and so remains for the most part, because the heart has lost its power to force the blood into the peripheral vessels at the surface. Our people, therefore, cultivate a diminished resistance to the influence of cold in those very latitudes where the vicissitudes of climate demand that they should foster increased resisting circulatory power. It should not, therefore, seem a matter of surprise that in our northern latitudes common colds and catarrhal diseases prevail so largely, nor yet that in the winter months the mortality lists become alarmingly swelled through such fatal diseases as acute rheumatism and pneumonia.

Before concluding this review it seems altogether proper that

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reference should be made to the important subject of clothing. While Americans expend, perhaps, more money upon apparel than any other nation, yet they are physiologically the worst clad of all civilized nations. The physical objects of clothing are to protect the body against cold or against warmth, as the climate may require, and all other hygienic uses ultimately resolve themselves into one or the other of these objects. Now, as regards protection against cold, it is a matter of comparative indifference of what material external garments are composed so long as the proper quality of goods be worn next the skin. Herein lies the error committed by a large proportion of our people. It is the exception to find with us persons who are habitually clad in *all-wool* undergarments, and yet in our northern latitudes such clothing only can afford adequate protection against the climate. In order to maintain equable warmth of the body, the first essential condition to be secured is uniform dryness of skin. We should, therefore, in selecting undergarments in cold latitudes, choose a material that possesses the highest possible hygroscopic (water-absorbing) power. Now, wool is emphatically that material, possessing, as compared with cotton and linen, double their hygroscopic power as regards weight, and quadruple their hygroscopic power for surface. Of the five textiles most employed for clothing—jute, linen, cotton, silk, and wool—the last is the weakest conductor of heat and therefore the warmest, while the others follow in reverse order. Moreover, wool takes up and holds the moisture from the body, and this moisture contains much escaped latent heat which the body always loses rapidly under perspiration. In holding this moisture the wool radiates it but slowly, and in so doing renders back to the body its escaping latent heat. It will therefore be readily perceived that in our northern latitudes all-wool undergarments should be worn, *and none other*. The weight of these garments is a matter of comparative insignificance and may be left to individual preference, since with a light-weight but all-wool garment in contact with the skin one may readily keep the body warm by adding outside wraps as the day or climate may demand.

With regard to protection against heat, fortunately in the United States, there is less to contend with in this direction than in tropical latitudes, although a high mortality among children is due to excessive heat in the summer months in the larger

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cities. In the selection of clothing to protect the body against heat—*i. e.*, the direct solar rays—color is the chief feature to be considered, since texture has but little influence. White affords the best protection, next light-gray, then yellow, pink, blue and black in the order named. In warm latitudes in hot seasons, then, white or light-gray clothing should be worn, and appropriate weight should also be considered.

In summing up the answer to the question propounded at the beginning of this enquiry, it will be noted that the answer depends somewhat upon individual constitutions, habits, occupations, and location in each individual case. But the following suggestions will serve as a general guide. The man of robust constitution and sedentary habits should live largely upon fish, green vegetables, and acid fruits, eating butchers' meat but once daily. He may in addition eat bread and potatoes, but these should constitute his limit of starchy foods. Cakes, farina, oatmeal, and the various cereal breakfast foods should be indulged in but rarely or altogether avoided. Sugar should be used but sparingly, and only as a flavoring for food or beverages, and never as a food in itself. If he use wine with his dinner, it should preferably consist of the non-saccharine order ; and he should limit the quantity of fluids consumed with his meals to from twelve to sixteen ounces. He should dine between six and seven o'clock in the evening, and at all times eat in moderation, never under any circumstances overloading his stomach. In northern latitudes, and especially in humid and changeable climates, such as those near the seaboard and the great chain of inland lakes, he should wear all-wool undergarments, including stockings, the year round. In dryer and somewhat warmer climates, such as the Middle and Southern interior States, silk underwear may be substituted for wool. Warm or tepid baths are preferable to cold ones, and after middle age cold showers, and plunges, or even sea bathing, are not without serious risks.

The man of sedentary life should reduce the temperature of his office and dwelling to 68 degrees, Fahr., and he should habitually walk at least two miles in the open air each day or take an equivalent amount of physical exercise. The best form of exercise is horseback riding, next in order is bicycling, while walking may be ranked as third.

The laboring man may be permitted more liberties in his diet

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than the man of sedentary habits, especially in the matter of butchers' meat, starches, and sugars. His greater muscular activity more readily oxidizes the waste products of these foods, and, moreover, his increased force expenditure demands more heat and force producing foods. The laboring man may therefore safely and with benefit eat butchers' meat twice daily, and he may also eat oatmeal and puddings at least two or three days in the week in addition to his bread and potatoes. He should dine in the middle of the day, and he should be allowed a full hour for his dinner and rest. His dinner is best for him if served without any form of alcohol. In matters of clothing, the laboring man should follow the general lines already laid down.

Through childhood and adolescence proportionately more meat should be used than after the period of adult growth, because meat furnishes the basis of tissue growth, which is active at such periods. A larger proportion of starches and sugars are also demanded during these periods in order to sustain the incessant activity of early life. With regard to the clothing of children, all the rules laid down apply here with emphatic force.

In the light of the facts and conclusions established in this discussion, is it not pertinent to this subject, considering the momentous nature of the issues involved, that in conclusion we should pause and ask ourselves the following questions?

(1.) Are we not becoming more and more addicted to the use of drugs for the relief of ills and pains that are purely the result of faulty habits of living, and most of which would be more surely, more effectively and permanently relieved by simply correcting our improper habits of life?

(2.) Are we not afflicted with a large amount of suffering, misery, and disease for which there is no necessity whatever; and are we not likely through hereditary transmission to entail much of this misery upon our offspring?

(3.) Do not a very large number of our people die much earlier in life than their constitutions, apparent vigor, and family histories would seem to warrant; and are not these premature deaths very largely unnecessary, and therefore clearly avoidable?

CHARLES W. PURDY.

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LITERARY TREASURE-TROVE ON THE NILE.

BY PROFESSOR RODOLFO LANCIANI, LL. D., PH. D., ETC.

THERE seems to be no doubt that one or more Arabs have discovered, somewhere on the banks of the Nile, a library of the Alexandrine period, or else the tomb of a man of science of the same epoch buried with his books. I do not know whether the place of discovery is known, even approximately, to the British representatives in Egypt. I think not; but if even they are acquainted with it, they are perfectly justified in keeping the secret to themselves, so as to prevent international jealousy and competition from interfering in their dealings with the discoverers. The first papyrus of importance was published in 1891 by the British Museum (*editio princeps* by F. C. Kenyon). It contains the greater part of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, a treatise of great value for the interpretation of many obscure or uncertain points in the constitutional history of Athens. How far or in what sense this is to be regarded as a genuine work of Aristotle is still a subject of discussion; for, although we know that the great Stagirite has written, wholly or in part, about one hundred such treatises on municipal constitutions, there are reasons to suspect that this newly found πολιτεία was composed by one of his pupils from notes collected in the course of his lectures.

The owner of the library, or of the tomb, the contents of which are being rifled by the Arabs, was not only a student of political economy, but also of poetry, as proved by the present discovery of the poems of Bacchylides. To appreciate its value, we must remember that the great lyric, born at Iulis, in the island of Ceos, towards the middle of the fifth century, B. C., was considered by the ancients a worthy rival of Pindar. Little is known of his life and literary career, except that he

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lived for a long time at the court of Hiero, in Syracuse, together with his uncle and fellow-townsman Simonides, and with Pindar himself. He wrote in the Doric dialect very short poems, hymns, *epinikia*, pæans, dithyrambs, the scanty fragments of which were first collected and edited by Neue in 1823 (*Bacchylidis Cei Fragmenta. Berlin*).

I cannot better illustrate the present discovery than by reproducing a short communication addressed to the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei* by Mr. Kenyon himself, to whom, as in the case of Aristotle's πολιτεία, the British Museum has given the enviable task of editing the text. Mr. Kenyon's letter is dated London, December 31, 1896, and is addressed to Professor Giacomo Lombroso.

"I will gladly give you all the information in my power for the purpose you mention, namely, the announcement to the *Accademia dei Lincei* of the discovery of Bacchylides. You will understand, however, that it is impossible to give very full details at present, since the manuscript has only been here for a very short time, and I am still engaged in the work of determining the true order of the scattered pieces. The manuscript is a papyrus, and, when perfect, must have been a very fine roll. It is written in a rather large (large, that is, for a papyrus manuscript) and well-formed uncial hand, which, I think, may almost certainly be assigned to the first century, B. C. Accents, breathings, and punctuation have been supplied in many places, though not universally, and generally by the first hand. Some have been added by the second hand, which has also made a few corrections, and inserted several titles (apparently in the first and second century after Christ). A few titles are written by the first hand. Each column contains about thirty-three lines, which are, of course, of uneven length, but are generally rather short. The text seems as a rule to be well and accurately written.

"Unfortunately, the papyrus has been very seriously mutilated by its Egyptian discoverers. The longest single piece measures twenty inches in length, and contains four and a half columns of writing. There are fourteen pieces of some considerable size, about thirty fragments of medium size (measuring a few inches in each direction), and a large number of small fragments. It is in the arrangement of the fragments that the most difficult part of my work in preparing the *editio princeps* will consist. The larger portions of the manuscript, so far as my reconstruction has at present gone, contain thirty one columns, of which fifteen are either perfect or approximately so, giving a total of about 500 perfect lines, and from 500 to 700 which are at present imperfect. I have at present found evidence of about fifteen distinct poems, but of some of these only small portions are preserved. Most of them are evidently epinikian odes, but one section of the papyrus contains poems which must be classed as hymns or dithyrambs. There are fragments of titles preserved, namely, 'Theseos,' 'Io' (addressed to the Athenians), and 'Idas' (addressed to the Lacedemonians).

"Of the epinikian odes, two are addressed to Hiero (one for an Olympic

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victory, and one for a Pythian); two to Lachon of Ceos (Olympic); one to Alexidamos of Metapontum (Pythian); one to Tisias of Aegiria (Nemean); one to Automedes of Phlios (Nemean); one to an Athenian, perhaps, named Eubulas (Isthmian); while there are others which may be determined more definitely as the fragments are arranged.

"With regard to the value of the contents, it is perhaps dangerous to trust to first impressions; moreover, it is a subject on which different people will form different opinions. The style of Bacchylides, both in language and in metre, is simpler and easier than that of Pindar. I do not think he rises to Pindar's heights of strength and splendor; his distinctive merits seem to me to be grace and ease, assisted by a poetical vocabulary. The recovery of his poems will enrich the lexicons with several new compounds, and the mythology will, I think, be found interesting.

"I do not know that there is any further information which I can give at present; and perhaps it is not wise to publish many statements which may have to be modified by increased study of the papyrus. But what I have here written down will I hope, enable the members of the *Accademia dei Lincei* to judge of the extent and importance of the present discovery. It is my wish now to get the text printed with as little delay as possible; but the number of small fragments to be arranged will, very possibly, make this work a long one. I would only ask scholars to be patient, and to trust that I will do my best to put them in possession of the new poet as soon as possible.

FREDERIC G. KENYON."

It pleases me to state that the Romans did offer to Bacchylides the same honors they were wont to pay to Pindar. The wealthy and learned citizens of the last century of the republic or of the time of Augustus, who covered the hillsides of Tusculum, of Tibur, and Præneste, and lined the shores of the Tyrrhenian with their magnificent country seats, did not forget to place the bust or the medallion of the lyric of Ceos side by side with those of the lyric of Thebes. The evidence of this fact, not generally known to students, is to be found in the discoveries made in 1775 among the ruins of the villa of Cassius, one mile east of Tivoli, on the road called *di Carciano* or *Cassiano*. The place is actually called by the local peasantry *la Pianella di Cassio*, "pianella" meaning a terrace of a Roman villa supported by substruction walls.

I visited this delightful spot on January 14. There are not one but three terraces, one above the other, over 500 feet long and about 150 deep. The substructures are built in the so-called *opus incertum*, over the remains of an older villa built in the so-called pelasgic or poligonal masonry. Age has given to these walls a brilliant golden-brownish hue, such as is seen in the late fall in our forests, when the setting sun strikes the half-

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dried leaves of the oak or the walnut. The gardens are now represented by groves of olives two or three centuries old, the quiet green of which harmonizes so well with the color of the ruins. There are glades and vistas through the masses of foliage over the Campagna, Rome, and the seacoast, with Hadrian's Villa and the sulphur springs in the foreground, while the Monte Affliano, crowned with the remains of the temple of the Dea Bona, towers back of the ruins to the height of 2,500 feet.

The excavations of 1773–1775 were undertaken by Domenico de Angelis, a Tiburtine amateur, in company with Antonio de Matthias, owner of the ground, and under the supervision of Giovanni Corrodi, government inspector of antiquities. I enter into these details because, although the general facts and the results of these excavations are known to archæologists from the few lines written by Ennio Quirino Visconti, in the first volume of the *Museo Pio-Clementino* (Milan edition of 1818), I know a great deal more about them since I became possessor of most of the Visconti papers after the death of the last representative of that archæological family, Carlo Ludovico, on June 29, 1894. The excavations were undertaken by De Angelis and De Matthias, with the view of providing new works of art for the Museo Pio Clementino, then in course of formation, and they succeeded beyond their own expectation. As the sixteenth century can boast of the finds made by Paul III., Farnese, in the Baths of Caracalla, the seventeenth of those made under Innocent X. and Clement X. in the Palace of the Valerii on the Cælian, so the following one will be celebrated forever for the discoveries obtained in the Pianella di Cassio. Visconti describes the search as "*uno dè piu insigni scavi dè nostri tempi.*" The marbles were found in the middle terraces, the statues among the ruins of a hall of basilical type, the busts and hermæ in the garden outside. The statues numbered seventeen, the busts twenty. There was Apollo Citharoedus, and seven out of nine muses. There was also a statue of Minerva. The goddess of learning could not find a more appropriate company than the daughters of Jupiter and Mercury, the representatives of fine arts: and we know, among other instances, that in the temple of Tegæa Minerva's image was actually surrounded by those of the "tuneful nine." Visconti mentions also a statue of Sleep (in connection with which he quotes the passage of

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Pausanias' Corinth. ii., 31, "not far from the temple of the Muses, at Troezene, stands an old altar, on which they sacrifice to the Muses and to Sleep, saying that this last is, of all the gods, the friendliest to the Nine Sisters"); a copy of the Faun of Praxiteles, a statue of Hygieia or Health, a draped female torso, and a rather licentious group of Silenus and Bacchante. Then came the busts of Antisthenes, Bias, Periander, Æschines, inscribed with their names, and the headless hermæ of Anacreon, of Chabrias, of Pittacus, with the motto "Know the Time"; of Solon, with the motto "*Ne quid nimis*"; of Cleobulus, with the motto "Keep an even mind," and of Thales, with the motto missing. There were five plinths of hermæ bearing the names of Pisistratus, Licurgus, Archytas, Hermarchos, and Diogenes. Some of these marbles were lying on a polychrome mosaic floor representing the crossing of the Nile. Pius VI. lost no time in securing the produce of the excavations for the Vatican collections, and ordered at the same time a second and more careful search to be made in that terrace. It was attended with equally happy results. First to appear was one of the missing muses, the eighth, Urania; then followed two or three heads belonging to the hermæ; two busts of Pericles with the helmet and some plinths with the names of Pheidias and of our two heroes, Pindar and Bacchylides. One of the halls appeared to have been designed in the Egyptian style, judging from three statues of black basalt, and from a figure of a crocodile in *pietra di paragone* which were found among its ruins. The last marble, a graceful altar dedicated ΑΓΑΘΩ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙ ("to the good genius)," was considered by the discoverers as a tribute of honor and gratitude paid by the ancient world to Pius VI., who, in spite of troubled and eventful times and of cruel French persecutions, never lost a single occasion to increase the archæological wealth of his country.

Those were grand old times. Instead of fettering or forbidding private enterprise, and of grudging to private collectors every fragment, however indifferent, of antique marbles or terracottas, Pius VI. invited landowners and excavators to collaborate with him in the recovery of works of art and of epigraphic documents. I am just now perusing the registers of the Vatican Museum of the last quarter of last century, and I simply wonder at the exquisite taste and discernment of the pontiff who would

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allow no one but himself to decide on the subject of acquisitions for the *Museo Pio Clementino,* or of exportation of antiques to foreign countries. And whenever exportation was denied, or an embargo put on a statue or on an inscription, he declared himself ready to purchase the object at a just price. No wonder that his call should have been answered by many, and that the greatest activity should have prevailed on the field of discoveries.

Three Englishmen placed themselves at the head of the movement—James Byres, an architect; Gavin Hamilton, the painter, who had just finished his frescoes from the Iliad in the casino of the Villa Borghese; and Thomas Jenkins, the banker. They left no corner of the Campagna unturned, no ruin unexplored; they were carrying on ten, twenty, explorations at the time, and when James Byres went back to England, about 1790, his place was taken by an equally energetic man, Robert Fagan, the pioneer of the excavations of Ostia. Pius VI. had the first choice of their discoveries; Charles Townley took the rest.

To come back, however, to the subject of this paper, a noble hall, the "*Salla delle Muse,*" was built for the reception of the statues, busts, and hermæ discovered in the Pionella di Cassio. In the arrangement of the pieces little or no attention was paid to the plinths inscribed with the names.

ΒΑΧΧΥΛΙΔΟΥ ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ.

They were placed each at one extreme end of the hall, and so near the ground that one has to lie on the damp, chilly marble pavement to be able to read them. After the discovery of the poems of the former they ought to be given a more prominent place.

The villa of Cassius was probably, if not certainly, designed or decorated by the two leading architects of the age, Sauros and Batrachos. The way this fact has been found out is well worth being related. Pliny the Elder says that the two artists, Lacedemonian by nationality, practised art for the love of it, being very wealthy in their own right, and that the ambition of seeing their names engraved on the works they produced, made them sometimes erect monuments or chisel statues "at their own expense for the sake of celebrity."

In 33, B. C., Augustus gave these partners the commission of re-erecting, from their own design, the temples of Jupiter

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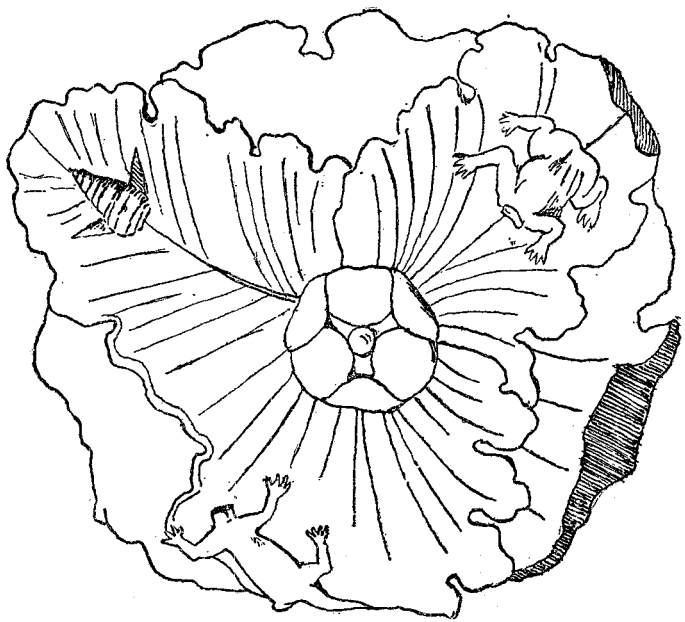
(Stator) and Juno (Sospita) within the portico of Octavia, and having denied them the privilege of inscribing their names on the pediment of the temples, they obtained their purpose in an indirect way, viz., by carving in the flutings of the columns of



both temples their "*armoirie parlante*" under the shape of a frog (Gr. *Batrachos*) and of a lizard (Gr. *Sauros*).

Winckelmann was the first to notice the presence of both emblems in a capital of the Ionic order now in the Church of *S. Lorenzo fuori le mura*. This is a work of the third century after Christ, badly designed and roughly carved, by some one who had read Pliny's anecdote, or who had remembered having seen the original symbols in the portico of Octavia. The fragment discovered in the Pianella di Cassio, on the contrary, belongs to the best period of the Greco-Roman decorative art, and has been given a place of honor in the Vatican Museum. There is one difficulty; the presence of a third animal, a wasp, which has evidently nothing to do with the *armoirie parlante* of the Lacedemonian architects. Perhaps this outsider was introduced in the composition simply for the sake of symmetry.

RODOLFO LANCIANI.

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PROGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

II.—THE MIDDLE STATES.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

THESE States include that portion of North America where the first settlements were made, not by the English, but by the Dutch, Swedes, and Germans, and hence the native population is of a miscellaneous character, while the great influx of immigrants in the last fifty years has tended still further to make of the Middle States the most cosmopolitan community in the world. This section of the Union, moreover, includes the most important cities and seaports, and is pre-eminent as regards trade, banking, manufactures, and wealth.

Population.—There is no other part of the New World so densely populated as this, the average being 140 persons to the square mile; this is a much higher ratio of density than that for the continent of Europe, and falls little below that of France. If the same rate of progress continue as since 1870, these States will have at the next census a population of 17 millions. The increase since 1850 is seen in the following table:

	1850.	1890.	1897, est.
New York	3,100,000	5,998,000	6,700,000
New Jersey	490,000	1,445,000	1,680,000
Pennsylvania	2,312,000	5,258,000	6,050,000
Delaware	92.000	168,000	190,000
Maryland	583,000	1,042,000	1,130,000
Dist. of Columbia	52,000	230,000	270,000
Middle States	6,629,000	14,141,000	16,020,000

The increase since 1850 has been nearly 150 per cent., or almost double the rate of progress recorded in New England, but much less than the general average for the Union, which has been 212 per cent. in that interval. In these States, however, the growth has been almost confined to cities, the advance of rural

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population being slow. For example, if we compare the census of 1890 with that of 20 years before, we find that, whereas in 1870 rural and urban population stood respectively as 10 to 6, they were in 1890 equal, viz.:

	Urban pop.		Rural pop.	
	1870.	1890.	1870.	1890.
New York	1,894,000	3,501,000	2,489,000	2,497,000
Pennsylvania	1,041,000	2,056,000	2,481,000	3,202,000
New Jersey, etc.	749,000	1,494,000	1,194,000	1,391,000
Middle States	3,684,000	7,051,000	6,164,000	7,090,000

Here we see that in twenty years urban population rose ninety-one per cent., rural only fifteen per cent., which shows that rural population was in a measure unable to hold its own, since its natural increase (excess of births over deaths) ought to have been forty per cent. in the interval. Meantime the cities have largely gained by immigration. It is gratifying to find that the American white population in the Middle States has grown five times faster than in New England, and almost keeps pace with the growth of the population generally, as shown thus:

	1870.	1890.	Increase, per cent.
Americans, white	5,498,000	7,263,000	32
Negroes	389,000	546,000	40
Foreigners	1,980,000	2,872,000	45
Their children	1,982,000	3,460,000	74
Middle States	9,849,000	14,141,000	43

It must not be concluded from the above that the negro population increases faster than that of white Americans throughout the Union. Here it may be interesting to compare the growth of population in the Union in the above 20 years:

	1870.	1890.	Increase, per cent.
Americans, white	28,111,000	45,902,000	63
Negroes	4,880,000	7,470,000	53
Foreigners	5,567,000	9,250,000	66
Total	38,558,000	62,622,000	63

As regards the Middle States foreign settlers constitute 20 per cent. of the population, and are mostly German or Irish, viz.:

	New York.	Pennsylvania.	Middle States.
German	499,000	231,000	896,000
Irish	483,000	244,000	860,000
British	188,000	196,000	456,000
Various	401,000	175,000	660,000
Total	1,571,000	846,000	2,872,000

While there has been a large influx of foreigners there has

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been a simultaneous movement of Americans to the Western States; the number of Americans in the Middle States but for this movement westward would have been 8,960,000 in 1890, or 1,700,000 more than the census shows.

Agriculture.—The area under farms exceeds by 3,000,000 acres the total cultivated area of Great Britain, and yet agriculture has been so far unable to keep pace with population that at present the ratio is only 2½ acres per inhabitant, as compared with four acres in 1850, viz.:

	Acres cultivated.		Per inhabitant.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
New York	12,410,000	16,390,000	4.0	2.7
Pennsylvania	8,630,000	13,210,000	3.8	2.5
New Jersey, etc	5,150,000	6,170,000	4.2	2.2
Middle States	26,190,000	35,770,000	4.0	2.5

The production of grain and potatoes shows some increase since 1850, but that of meat has declined; the actual production of food is only one-third of what is required to feed the population, viz.:

	Tons produced		Pounds per inhabitant.	
	1850.	1895.	1850.	1895.
Grain	4,270,000	6,200,000	1,430	900
Potatoes	640,000	2,050,000	210	300
Meat	325,000	306,000	106	46

The average consumption of grain in the United States is 2,400 lbs.;* that of meat, 140 lbs., per inhabitant yearly: hence it appears that the Middle States do not raise enough food for the single State of Pennsylvania. In these States, the same as in New England, there is a tendency to reduce the size of farms, the census of 1890 showing an average of 69 acres, against 75 in 1850. This is apparently the result of dairy-farming, for we find that while the farming area rose 36 per cent. since 1850 the number of milch cows increased 70 per cent. In 1894 the number of milch cows was 2,880,000, which was sufficient to supply milk and butter to 14½ million inhabitants, the population being half a million more. Thus, in every respect, the agriculture of the Middle States is deficient, although there is an unimproved area of 37 million acres, much of which ought to be available for cultivation. Doubtless, the explanation is that manufactures and commerce are more profitable in these States,

* Including, of course, what is required as food for cattle.

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and that farmers have a tendency to go West. The value of farm products, taking the average for the years 1893–94–95, is shown approximately as follows:

	Tons.	Value, dollars
Grain	5,200,000	95,600,000
Potatoes	1,440,000	23,800,000
Hay	10,100,000	119,000,000
Meat and tallow	360,000	57,600,000
Dairy produce	.....	129,000,000
Sundries	.....	85,000,000
Total		510,000,000

The gross result gives an average of $980 to each farm, or $14¼ per acre, against $11 for the Union. The total value of farms and live-stock and the average value of land per acre are shown thus:

	Farms, millions dollars.		Dollars per acre.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
New York	650	1,140	45	59
Pennsylvania	464	1,063	47	70
New Jersey, &c	254	429	44	61
Middle States	1,368	2,632	45	63

We may infer that the enhanced value of land is mainly due to the development of dairy farming and the rapid growth of urban population. Agricultural interests seem to have improved very notably in the above interval, for, although the average size has diminished by six acres, the capital represented by each farm has risen from $3,910 to $5,060, an increase of 29 per cent. The value of land, as we see above, has risen $18 an acre, as compared with $12 in New England, which is another proof that farming is on a better footing in the Middle States. If the value of all farm-products in 1894 were divided among the population it would give to each inhabitant $30 in New England, $34 in the Middle States and $56 in the Union at large, the latter ratio being much higher than in any country of Europe, except Denmark.

Manufactures.—The progress of this branch of industry has been much more rapid than in New England, the output having multiplied eight-fold, the sum paid for wages nine-fold since 1850, viz.:

	—Millions dollars.—	
	Output.	Wages.
1850	470	101
1890	3,648	937

The manufactures of the Middle States exceed in value those

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of France or Germany, and fall only five per cent. below those of Great Britain. Dividing the value among population, they give an average of $253 per inhabitant, as compared with $110 in Great Britain and $75 in France. There is, in fact, no country in the world where the output of manufactures shows so high a ratio to population as in the Middle States, except New England. Comparing the census returns of 1890 with those of 1850, we see that the rise in wages has surpassed that in the value produced: the number of operatives in 1850 was 418,000, and in 1890 it was 1,810,000, the ratio corresponding to each being, therefore, as follows:

	Dollars per operative.		
	1850	1890	Increase.
Product,.....	1,120	2,017	80 per cent.
Wages,.....	240	517	115 "

This shows that the workman now receives a larger share of the profit resulting from manufactures than he did fifty years ago. Wages in 1890 averaged $9.94 per week, or 10 per cent. more than in New England, the difference perhaps being accounted for by the higher cost of living in the Middle States. How much faster manufactures have grown than population is shown in the following table:

	Millions dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
New York.....	240	1,712	77	285
Pennsylvania.....	154	1,332	67	253
New Jersey, etc.....	76	604	63	208
Middle States.....	470	3,648	71	258

The chief seat of the hardware industry is Pennsylvania, which produces goods of this description to the value of 388 millions yearly, equal to $74 per inhabitant, the average being $10 in Germany and $19 in Great Britain. According to the census of 1890 Pennsylvania stood for one-third of the hardware manufactures of the United States, and hence the ratio of hardware to population in that State is extraordinarily high, the ratio for the whole Union being only $18, which is one dollar per inhabitant less than in Great Britain.

Mining.—The mineral resources of the Middle States consist for the most part of coal, iron ore and petroleum, the output in 1890 reaching a value of 189 millions, or one-third of the total mining industry of the Union.

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	Tons raised.		Value of all minerals, dollars.
	Iron ore.	Coal.	
Pennsylvania	1,560,000	129,000,000	150,900,000
New York, etc	1,700,000	5,200,000	37,900,000
Middle States	3,260,000	134,200,000	188,800,000

The extraction of petroleum, almost wholly confined to Pennsylvania, averages 50 million barrels of crude oil yearly, worth 30 million dollars. In the last 35 years the oil-springs have produced 710 million barrels, valued at 660 million dollars. The mineral output of the Middle States, as shown above for 1890, gave a value of $13 per inhabitant, against $11 in Great Britain.

Commerce.—Most of the foreign trade of the Union passes through the ports of the Middle States. In an interval of 40 years, from 1854 to 1894, the trade of the Middle States rose 325 per cent., that of the rest of the Union only 260 per cent., viz.:

	Port entries, tons.		
	1854.	1894.	Increase.
New York	1,840,000	7,120,000	5,280,000
Philadelphia, etc	350,000	2,240,000	1,890,000
Middle States	2,190,000	9,360,000	7,170,000
Other States	2,150,000	7,660,000	5,510,000
United States	4,340,000	17,020,000	12,680,000

New York takes 42 per cent. of the trade of the Union, and ranks as the second seaport in the world, being 1,300,000 tons less than London, and 1,600,000 more than Liverpool. It is to be deplored that American shipping laws are ruinous to national interests, for we see that 40 years ago three-fourths of the carrying trade of American ports was done on American bottom, whereas at present the American ratio is less than one-fourth :

	Tonnage cleared.		Ratio.	
Flag.	1857.	1894.	1857.	1894.
American	3,480,000	3,750,000	71.3	21.7
British	980,000	9,040,000	20.1	52.2
Various	420,000	4,520,000	8.6	26.1
Total	4,880,000	17,310,000	100.0	100.0

The importance of a merchant navy to a country possessing such fine seaports, such extensive seaboard, and such commercial relations with all parts of the globe, is a consideration of the most transcendental order, and the shipping laws of 1860 should, therefore, be repealed at once. At present the United States

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pays an annual tribute of 40 million dollars to British ship-owners.

Railways.—In 1896 the Middle States possessed 21,900 miles of railway, representing a cost of 2,092 million dollars, although the census report of 1890 makes the value much less. The length of railway compared with population is almost the same as in New England, 142 miles to 100,000 inhabitants, or three times the relative mileage that exists in France or Great Britain.

Banking.—If we assume, for the reason already given respecting New England, that the discounts of the National Banks are 70 per cent. of the total the sum for the Middle States will be 1,197 millions, equal to $77 per inhabitant, as compared with 111 dollars in New England. In this business of banking Massachusetts is relatively ahead of New York, viz.:

	Discounts.	
	Millions dollars.	Dollars per inhabitant.
New York	688	106
Massachusetts	373	166

In like manner the savings banks deposits average $99 per inhabitant in New York and $178 in Massachusetts.

Wealth.—The components of wealth according to the census of 1890 were:

	Millions dollars.					Dollars per inhabitant.
	Farms.	Houses.	Railways.	Sundries.	Total.	
New York	1,140	4,850	535	2,052	8,577	1,429
New Jersey	182	802	99	362	1,445	1,000
Pennsylvania	1,063	2,859	455	1,814	6,191	1,178
Delaware	46	66	17	47	176	1,048
Maryland	201	570	67	247	1,085	1,042
Dist. Columbia	....	287	5	52	344	1,496
Middle States	2,632	9,434	1,178	4,574	17,818	1260

There is a greater concentration of wealth in the State of New York than elsewhere, the average per inhabitant being 40 per cent. over that of the Union at large. This is partly shown in the prodigious value of house-property, including public buildings, which averages $810 per inhabitant in the State of New York, against $420 for the whole Union. The six Middle States taken collectively give an average of $660 of house property per inhabitant, which is double the ratio found in Great Britain, and hence it may be affirmed that the people of these States are, on the whole, the best-housed community in the world. The accu-

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mulation of wealth during the 40 years averaged 38½ dollars per inhabitant, viz. :

	Wealth, millions dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.		Annual increase per inhabitant.
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.	
New York	1,080	8,577	348	1,429	$41.50
New Jersey	200	1,445	408	1,000	32.60
Pennsylvania	722	6,191	312	1,178	37.40
Delaware	21	176	233	1,048	29.70
Maryland	219	1,085	373	1,042	27.10
Dist. Columbia	14	344	280	1,496	61.10
Middle States	2,256	17,818	340	1,260	38.50

The average wealth per inhabitant has almost quadrupled in 40 years, a marvellous proof of the progress of these States, and unparalleled in Europe; for McCulloch lays it down that only prosperous nations can double their wealth in that interval. The accumulation in the Middle States per inhabitant has been $10.20 per annum higher than in New England, and exactly double the average accumulation yearly in Great Britain in the interval of 1860–1895. Agricultural wealth forms only 15 per cent. of the total in the Middle States, whereas it is 25 per cent. in the whole of the Union. The proportions of real and personal property compare thus :

	Dollars per inhabitant.			Ratio of real, per cent.
	Real.	Personal.	Total.	
Middle States	820	440	1,260	65
New England	635	477	1,112	57
Great Britain	523	1,003	1,526	34
France	590	620	1,210	49

There is apparently no part of the world where the preponderance of real property is so great as in the Middle States, the average in European countries being 46 per cent. The amount of property of all kinds in these States covered by insurance is 8,354 millions, or 47 per cent. of total wealth, the insured property in the Union at large being only 28 per cent. of wealth.

Mortgages in 1890 amounted to 2,587 millions, equal to 22 per cent. of the value of real estate. It is to be observed that house property is more heavily mortgaged than farms, the reverse of what we have seen in New England. There is an exception in the case of New Jersey, where farms are more heavily mortgaged. Comparing the total amount of mortgages with wealth we find as follows:

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	Millions dollars.		Ratio of mortgage.
	Wealth.	Mortgages.	per cent.
New York	8,577	1,608	18.6
Pennsylvania	6,191	613	9.9
New Jersey	1,445	233	16.1
Maryland, etc	1,605	133	8.3
Middle States	17,818	2,587	14.5

Mortgages are as 14½ per cent. of wealth, against 10 per cent. in New England, and 9 per cent. in the Union at large. The sum paid yearly for interest on mortgages is equal to $10.20 per inhabitant, as compared with $6.20 in New England.

Finances.—Taxation in these States is less than in New England, the sum of local and State taxes in 1890 being $138,000,000. Including the ratio of national revenue the total burden comes out $17.20 per inhabitant, against $18.70 in New England and $18.20 in the United Kingdom. Meantime local taxation varies exceedingly in the Middle States, being $12.50 in New York, $7 in Pennsylvania, and only $5.50 in Delaware.

Education.—In 1893 the Middle States spent on public schools the sum of $43,000,000, that is only $4,000,000 less than the school expenditure of Great Britain. Popular instruction is at a high level, more than 97 per cent. of the native-born white population (over ten years of age) being able to read and write:

	Pop. over 10 years.	Illiterates.	Per cent.
Americans, white	7,956,000	229,000	2.8
Foreigners	2,757,000	401,000	14.5
Negroes	434,000	156,000	35.8
Middle States	11,147,000	786,000	7.0

Notwithstanding the large number of illiterate foreigners in New York, that State has the lowest ratio of illiteracy, namely, 5½ per cent., the ratio in Maryland being 16 per cent., which is explained by the fact that in the latter State colored people form one-fifth of the population.

In many respects the Middle States constitute the most important community of the Union. It is only in agriculture that they are below par, standing for no more than 14 per cent. of that of the United States. They represent 27 per cent. of the wealth, 33 per cent. of the mining, 39 per cent. of the manufactures, 44 per cent. of the banking, and 55 per cent. of the foreign trade of the Union. The average of the foregoing six industries is 35 per cent., while the population is only 22 per cent. of that of

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the Union. Hence it may be said that two persons of the Middle States exercise the same influence in American progress as three persons of the United States generally.

The European reader may form an accurate idea of the Middle States when he is told that they are equal in area to the United Kingdom, in population to Spain, in manufactures to Germany; that their mineral output more than doubles in value that of France; and that as regards wealth the single State of New York is equal to Belgium and Holland put together.

M. G. MULHALL.

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THE MILITARY VALUE OF THE SHIP-YARD.

BY LEWIS NIXON.

REBUILDING of the Navy is the most important national enterprise of this generation. The first practical steps towards it were taken by the Administration of President Arthur fifteen years ago. Since that time steady progress has been made, and has now reached a stage which, including ships building, puts us at least sixth in rank among naval powers. Beginning with the act authorizing completion of the "Miantonomoh" and including among the provisions for increase of the Navy the cost of the gun-factory at the national capital, one hundred and eleven millions of dollars have been appropriated for naval rehabilitation. No similar expenditure in the history of the government has produced such gratifying results, or met so pressing a need. But this expenditure has not only founded a new navy; it has also stimulated development of our industrial resources, particularly in the production of steel, which all agree would have been impossible under ordinary commercial conditions.

When the first ships were authorized, the country had no facilities for making heavy steel forgings for machinery or for armor. The turrets of the "Miantonomoh" and shafts for several of the earlier cruisers were purchased abroad. At the present time the forging facilities of this country are not excelled, if indeed equalled, elsewhere. This forms an element of national defence, and a guarantee of national independence, hardly second in importance to the new fleet itself. But the end is by no means reached yet. The naval rank of the United States, due to the extent and character of the fleet already provided, is not yet suitable to her general rank among the nations of the world, nor are their naval resources adequate to the effective protection of their extended and exposed coast lines, which

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front two oceans under geographical conditions forbidding easy or prompt co-operation between them by water, and therefore require two separate defensive naval forces each able to protect its own coast.

From the authorization of the "Chicago," "Boston," "Atlanta," and "Dolphin" to the present time the appropriations for "Increase of the Navy" have been as follows:

Total appropriations for the first four ships	$4,308,694
For increase of the Navy, Act of March 3, 1885	1,895,000
" " " " " " August 3, 1886	3,500,000
" " " " " " March 3, 1887	11,048,362
" " " " " " September 7, 1888	5,760,000
" " " " " " March 2, 1889	6,745,000
" " " " " " June 30, 1890	8,120,000
" " " " " " March 2, 1891	16,607,000
" " " " " " July 19, 1892	9,460,000
" " " " " " March 3, 1893	7,125,000
" " " " " " July 26, 1894	9,955,025
" " " " " " March 2, 1895	13,327,521
" " " " " " June 10, 1896	11,479,054
Special appropriation for nickel matte, 1890	1,000,000
	$110,330,656

The direct and visible results of this expenditure are in completed ships:

Type.	Number	Total tons displacement.	Total I. H. P.
First-class battleships	4	42,000	44,000
Second-class battleships	2	13,000	17,000
Armored cruisers	2	17,500	36,000
Harbor defence vessels	6	26,000	15,500
Total armored	14	98,500	112,500
Protected cruisers	13	58,000	136,000
Cruisers	3	6,300	16,000
Gunboats	16	19,500	27,000
Special class	2	2,400	7,500
Total unarmored	34	86,200	186,500

The grand total of all types and classes available for active service, or about to become so, is 48 ships of 184,700 tons displacement and 299,000 indicated horse-power.

In addition to this effective fleet, provision has been made for five battleships, the construction of which is fairly begun, and eighteen torpedo boats, of which three are completed and fifteen in various stages of forwardness. The five battleships when completed will add say 57,500 tons of displacement and about 55,000 indicated horse-power to the armored fleet.

At this point we have stopped. On March 4, 1897, Congress, for the first time since March, 1883, adjourned without provision for further increase of the navy. A perfunctory appropriation

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was made for continuing work on vessels previously authorized; but so far as the latest three battleships are concerned—the most important part of the work in hand—the effectiveness of the appropriation for them was destroyed by an impracticable limitation on the price of armor of the present navy standard, whereby its production to meet the immediate requirements of these ships was to all intents and purposes prohibited. The excuse for stopping increase of the navy unofficially offered by the dominant party in Congress was insufficiency of revenue; but this excuse loses its force when we consider the fact that ships authorized this year could not draw seriously upon the treasury till next year under the most favorable mechanical conditions, and the additional fact that the avowed cardinal policy of the dominant party was and is to enact laws calculated to correct the alleged insufficiency of revenue and to make those laws promptly effective. From this point of view the logical conclusion is that the policy of reconstructing the navy of the United States has been abandoned, and that to the new administration has been assigned the task of gracefully winding up its affairs.

The effect of this sudden and unexpected end of a policy hitherto universally popular, and on the whole carried out consistently and consecutively to a degree seldom witnessed in the conduct of American public affairs, was of course instantly and severely felt by the industry most directly involved, that of American shipbuilding at large. The present development of this industry—which, relatively to its condition when naval reconstruction began, represents a new growth—is, with exceptions too trifling for serious mention, the result of the encouragement afforded by the patronage of the government in the work of the new navy. The inception of this work in 1883 found a few struggling shipyards which the demands of the coasting trade had enabled to eke out a precarious and feeble existence, a condition which had continued for many years, and which is best described as a hovering between life and death. But the swift collapse of the policy in 1897 finds a number of ship-yards in the highest state of organization and equipment, upon which much capital has been lavished and vast energy expended, capable of the grandest achievements possible to the shipbuilding art; and it has left them destitute of occupation and almost bereft of encouragement.

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I by no means imply that the government owes the shipyards a living, or that for the sake of maintaining them in a high state of efficiency it should give them work the product of which it does not need. I maintain that if the government needs a navy at all—which no one in full enjoyment of sound faculty will deny—it needs a force the production of which in suitable degree must afford occupation to American ship-yards, great and small alike, for many years to come.

Disastrous as this quick and inexplicable collapse of our naval policy may be to shipbuilding, it is none the less so to the vast array of cognate and contributary industries that have been stimulated, encouraged, and developed along with it. When the new naval policy was inaugurated in 1883 we had no forges capable of producing armor, or gun or machinery forgings in modern steel; no rolling mills that could make plates or shapes suitable for modern ships or their boilers; no foundries able to turn out the classes and qualities of castings in steel, iron or bronze necessary to fulfil the specifications of any up-to-date man-of-war. In 1897 we are making the best and most massive forgings, rolling the longest, widest, and heaviest boiler and ship plates and shapes, and casting the most intricate and ponderous designs in iron, steel, and bronze ever seen. All this development is due to the demands of the new navy. With the sole exception of the "St. Louis" and "St. Paul," no merchant vessels were built during the period under consideration whose requirements could even remotely tax this phenomenally developed and wondrously expanded capacity —and no others appear in even dim prospect.

This brings me to the point of considering the public value of private industries capable of producing war material as elements of national defence, and therefore as guarantees of national independence, wholly external to and not to be measured by purely commercial rules.

In this sense every great forge and machine shop that can make modern steel breech-loading guns of any calibre and power, or projectiles of any size or endurance, or armor of any thickness and resistance, is a national fortress or citadel, in the perpetuity and integrity of which every citizen has or should feel a patriotic interest. From the current commercial output of such an establishment under peaceful conditions the actual proprietor may reap a certain, limited, and easily calculated profit in money.

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But from its capacity for material output under warlike conditions, the nation at large, and thereby every citizen unit in particular, may reap a profit in the defence alike of the integrity of the country and the possessions of the individual, at once incalculable in the denominations of currency and limitless in the boon of safety.

In this sense also every ship-yard that can build war vessels capable of sustaining the armor or using the guns and projectiles of such forges against any common enemy becomes a public shield against any and all possible foreign aggression, the value of which to the nation at large, and in the long run, cannot be computed by the formulas of trade.

Possibly the real weight of these portentous facts is more readily apparent to men conversant with the mechanical problems involved in the production of modern armaments. But it seems to me that every man of ordinary intelligence or average information on such subjects must be able to grasp the great fact that the day for quick improvisation of wooden navies or log forts armed with cast-iron guns, upon which Americans formerly relied for defence, are gone by, and that we must now accommodate ourselves, as best we may, to warlike conditions in which, to a very great extent, art has taken the place of pluck, skill the place of valor, and superior mechanism the place of the "fortune of war"! In other words, we may now translate Napoleon's maxim that "God is always on the side of the strongest battalions" and Nelson's aphorism that "the French and Spaniards can build ships, but it takes old England to build the seamen," into the comparatively tame phrase that "hereafter the fates of nations will be settled by the perfection of their machines rather than by the prowess of their heroes!"

This era of mechanical warfare has brought with it difficulties in the production of warlike material unknown to the earlier and simpler days of wooden hulls and cast-iron weapons. In those days any well-built merchant ship of suitable size and rig could be converted into an effective man-of-war by mounting cast-iron cannon on her decks and cutting ports for them through her sides. For the rest nothing was needed but the "hearts of oak" popularly supposed to beat in the bosoms of sailors. Moreover, the building of regular men-of-war in that era was itself a simple thing mechanically, the comparative facility of which may

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best be illustrated by the statement that an entire ship-yard, capable of constructing ships of the line, in the days of wood and sail power, could have been equipped and organized with less capital than is invested in a single tool in use at Cramp's—the floating derrick!

Likewise, in those days, a complete foundry capable of turning out cannon and projectiles *aa libitum* could have been erected at less cost than that of the forging press at Bethlehem, which now makes only the rough forgings required for modern steel rifled breechloaders, to say nothing of the ponderous and costly plant necessary for the machining and assembling of them. And, more important than all, the cast-iron weapon of the old days could be produced and put in action in one-tenth the time and at one-fiftieth the cost required to complete the modern gun, while a thousand cast-iron cannon balls of the former period would not represent the time, cost and labor required to produce a single armor-piercing projectile of to-day. Perhaps the clearest way in which these vast changes can be indicated is by stating that the expense of firing a hundred rounds from the thirteen-inch guns of the battleship "Massachusetts" in ammunition alone would exceed the entire cost of the old "Constitution's" battery in 1812, with ammunition enough thrown in to fight all her battles!

Passing from weapons to material of construction, we find that the exactions of the new era are even more crucial. Not only has the day of improvising warships from the merchant fleet passed away, but the conditions involved in the building of regular men-of-war have been immeasurably augmented in complication and expense. Without going into tedious detail, interesting only to technical men, I will simplify the proposition by saying that each one of the 13-inch turrets of the "Massachusetts," with its two guns and all its actuating gear, cost more money, so far as construction is concerned, than the cost of the old "Constitution" entire from the time her keel was laid till she bombarded the Bashaw's Castle at Tripoli! The cost of the whole battery of the "Massachusetts," including the armor used as gun-protection, would have built, armed, and equipped ready for battle two 120-gun three-deckers like the old "Pennsylvania"; the cost of the side armor alone of the "Massachusetts" would have built and put in commission the "Hornet"

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and "Wasp" of our little navy in 1812; and the cost of the "Massachusetts'" machinery would have provided sail power for our whole naval force at that time.

Possibly these comparisons may to the general reader be more graphic and striking than tables of figures could be. If so, they will better serve my purpose, which is simply to impress upon the public mind the practical significance of the changes that have come about and the mechanical problems which confront the producer of war material in the new era, unknown and undreamed of in the old.

In view of this vast growth of complication and expense in sea armaments, and of the infinitely enhanced tax they impose on the industry and skill of producers, it becomes manifest that the ability of the government to build its own war material must correspondingly decrease, and that therefore with every advance in the application of mechanism to warfare, the dependence of the government upon the resources of the private skill and enterprise must increase. These are the reasons why plants and organizations capable of manufacturing material and munitions of modern warfare possess a status of public importance altogether beyond and distinct from ordinary commercial and industrial considerations.

I believe that this view of the matter has found some lodgement in the American public mind. This has been indicated by the universal approval which the people gave to the earlier steps in naval reconstruction; by the popular enthusiasm with which the remarkable performances of our new ships on trial have been greeted, and by the avidity of the press for every scrap of news from day to day concerning the progress of ships building and the careers of those built.

But of late, if the temper of Congress and the tone of the press may be taken as an index of the popular feeling, interest in the new navy is on the wane. To what cause this is due need not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the tide has turned without a good reason for its turning; and unless better counsels soon prevail, the American people will find that they have stopped half-way in the grandest and most salutary and farthest reaching of all the patriotic enterprises they have undertaken since 1776.

The foregoing *résumé* of the history of our naval reconstruc-

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tion and survey of the existing situation, though incomplete perhaps in themselves, on account of the necessary limitations of space, cannot fail to derive additional interest and receive augmented significance from comparison with or contrast to the policy in like premises of a nation which has thus far been our only rival in sea commerce and our only foe in sea war—Great Britain.

In this comparison or contrast we need go no farther back than the date of our own renaissance period, say 1885. We may pass over the history of England's earlier efforts to gain the sea power by virtue of which she is now the world's monarch in commerce, in finance, in diplomacy; in every attribute of national success, ascendancy, and wealth necessarily consequent upon dominion of the ocean and ownership of the highways of mankind.

We need not go back to the dawn of her sea power in the reign of William the Third, nor trace her supreme efforts during the wars of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic epoch, when in twenty-two years she spent nearly eight billions of dollars and three-quarters of a million lives in the gigantic struggle which ended with an ocean that knew no European flag but her own, and a globe whose continents and islands never rested from the sound of *reveille* in her garrisons.

We may omit consideration of the steadfast, relentless, and unswervable policy bequeathed from one generation to another by which every resource of mind and matter, money and muscle, ambition and endeavor, skill, cunning, valor, and sacrifice has been exhausted in the one grand grasp at overwhelming sea-power alike in peace and in war, in trade and in reprisal, in traffic and in battle.

We need not recount how, when, in the days of wood, her own forests had ceased to supply ship-timber for so much as one-tenth of her needs, she imported it in the rough at a great cost, built her own ships in her own ship-yards, disdaining to buy any ship of alien build, clinging to her home shipbuilding with the grimmest of resolution and the fiercest contempt of every obstacle.

Nor need we tell how, when at last the iron ship came in course of mechanical development, she hailed it as her deliverer from impending bondage, fostered it, made it her talisman of

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the future, and, yoking with it the marine engine, hitched the pair to a new Neptune's chariot of ocean conquest in which her later triumphs have almost relegated the early glories of her "wooden walls" to oblivion.

Suffice it on this point to say that from first to last English patriotism and English statecraft have steadily realized and steadfastly maintained that, while the one instrument of her supremacy is sea power, the sole foundation of sea power itself is the perpetuity of home shipbuilding; that the English ship-yard is the keystone of the arch of the British Empire.

Passing by all these stupendous facts with simple mention in paragraphs, each one of which suggests the subject of a volume, and the whole of which might be expanded into a library better worth this generation's reading than all the histories of land conquest from Tamerlane to Napoleon, we will consider merely what England has done for her sea-power during the period of our own naval reconstruction, that is since 1885.

In order that the comparison of England's naval progress with our own since 1885 may be clearly understood, it is necessary to describe the condition of each at the start. We began our new navy at zero. When the first four ships were authorized in 1883 we had a few old wooden relics which possessed names to figure in the Navy Register, and could float; but they could neither fight nor chase nor run. All they could do was to limp around the world as rottening reminiscences of a glorious past, the shame of the gallant men who had to serve on them, and the laughing-stock of the foreign navies who had to exchange courtesies with them.

It was different with England. She had in 1885 a navy equal in material to any three others, and in *personnel* probably to all others combined, in the effective, if not in the numerical sense.

But a new era in naval construction was then setting in. Improvement in guns, armor, and machinery, due mainly to the substitution of mild steel for iron as a prime material of structure, had made, or were rapidly making, the ships of the previous two decades obsolete. In this emergency England did not rest content with the supremacy of the past. On the contrary, she recognized the new conditions, adopted them, applied them to the still greater expansion of her sea-power, and set a pace of

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new construction which quickly made the rest of the world lag by comparison with her strides. From 1885 to 1896, inclusive, England expended for new warships and their armament (including new breech-loading guns for some of the old ships) 97,000,000 pounds sterling in round figures (exactly £96,815,000). And Parliament in March last voted for the fiscal year beginning April 1st last 11,435,000 pounds sterling, the grand total since 1885 being 108,250,000 pounds, or the equivalent of $541,250,000.

During the same period she has increased the *personnel* of her navy from 52,800 men in 1885 to 100,050 in 1897.

With this enormous expenditure she has built the six battleships of the "Admiral" class, the "Nile" and "Trafalgar," the "Sanspareil" (and the lost "Victoria"), special classes; the ten ships of the Naval Defense Act of 1889, the "Royal Sovereign" and "Centurion" types, the nine of the "Magnificent" and "Majestic" class, the five of the "Canopus" class, authorized last year and now under rapid construction; the "Renown," and the four authorized in the estimates just agreed to—a total of thirty-nine first-class battleships, or thirty-eight, excluding the "Victoria." The aggregate displacement of this fleet of new battleships is, roundly, 580,000 tons, and the indicated horse-power about 510,000. Of second-class battleships three have been built, and of armored cruisers nine, displacing, in the aggregate, 81,000 tons, and propelled by 96,500 horse-power. The total of all the new armored displacement is, therefore, 661,000 tons, and the total horse power 606,500.

Of vessels not armored, but with deck protection and sponsoned or shielded batteries, England has built since 1885 twenty first-class cruisers, displacing in the aggregate 202,750 tons and propelled by 319,500 horse-power; fifty-one second-class cruisers of 227,250 tons' total displacement and 456,000 aggregate horse-power; thirty third-class cruisers of 65,000 tons' displacement altogether and 173,000 collective horse-power.

Of vessels neither armored nor protected she has built since 1885 nine composite sloops and thirty gunboats, displacing in all 34,000 tons, and engined with 121,000 horse-power, and 72 vessels variously known as "torpedo-catchers," "torpedo-boat destroyers," etc., designed for very high speed—over thirty knots in some cases. These embody a total displacement of 20,000 tons and an aggregate horse-power of about 270,000, the relation

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of power to displacement alone sufficiently explaining their character.

The grand total of all types and classes is 262 ships, displacing in the aggregate 1,209,400 tons and propelled by a total horse-power of 1,945,600.

This is England's increase of her navy since 1885. It is her expression of the value she places on the perpetuity of her sea-power. To all appearances it has sufficed to renew her lease of absolute autocracy on the ocean for an indefinite period, because there has been no naval increase elsewhere, putting all the other powers together, approaching the nature of a menace to it.

To comprehend the prodigious significance of this fact, it is necessary to survey the naval progress of other powers worthy of consideration in the maritime sense during the same period.

Taking the naval progress of England since 1885 as the unit, we find that of France to be as two-sevenths ; that of Russia as two-elevenths ; that of the United States as two-twelfths ; that of Germany as two-fourteenths, and that of Italy as two-seventeenths. In other words, the naval progress of England since 1885 has been to that of France in the same period as 14 to 4 ; to that of Russia as 22 to 4 ; to that of Germany as 28 to 4 ; to that of Italy as 34 to 4, and to our own as 24 to 4. To avoid prolonged calculation, we will take 70 as the nearest mean common integer, and it will be seen that since 1885 England has built a new navy on modern lines which bears to the combined new navies of the rest of the world the ratio of 70 to 64.

In making this calculation I have not only taken account of the factors of displacement, armor, armament, and indicated horse-power, but I have also made an allowance of a certain percentage throughout the equations for the known and admitted superiority of the English *personnel* afloat as against all included opposing factors except the United States, and I have further allowed a percentage in favor of the superior facilities the British possess of quick mobilization of their available sea-power as compared with any probable or possible foe or coalition of foes.

In such a calculation it is not worth while to include the minor maritime nations, such as those of South America and Asia, because what navies they have are built in England, and therefore represent accretion rather than diminution in the actual English sea-power.

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For the purpose of valuing the new navy of Great Britain at its full worth we should consider it by itself, assuming the navy she had in 1885 to be wiped out. From this point of view it would be in all the essentials of effective power—in its exhaustiveness of the latest appliances; in the harmonious distribution of its force among various types and classes suitable for the diverse duties devolving on such a fleet; in the careful and thoughtful adaptation of each type and class to the complementary or co-operative needs of the others; in short, as a symmetrical whole—vastly more potent than the British navy that preceded it; superior to any other single navy in the world, old and new together, and more than equal to any other two. And it must be borne in mind that vast as are the results of the past decade of British naval reconstruction there is not the slightest sign of diminution, much less discontinuance, of output in the next decade. With ten years more of the energy and achievement that have made the last ten years memorable, if the future progress of her rivals may be judged from what they have done, the naval relation of Great Britain to the rest of the world combined, in the overwhelming and untouchable ocean mastery she will then possess, will be something which it is startling to contemplate.

William L. Marcy in the state paper which announced the refusal of the United States to join in the agreement of the Paris Conference to abolish privateering, said that mastery of the sea by one power must be a greater menace to the interests of all other powers than land mastery by any power possibly could be; because, while land mastery must be limited by the conditions of land transport, sea mastery would be boundless, therefore ubiquitous on the globe and threatening to everybody everywhere. This is the actual attitude of England, and every year's accretion to her already overwhelming fleet and consequent overshadowing sea-power augments the perennial threat she holds over the rest of mankind. To accentuate this proposition let us consider a recent Berlin dispatch to the effect that the Emperor William was trying to organize a concert of continental powers for the purpose of restraining the alleged designs of England upon the independence or integrity of the Boer Republic in South Africa. Suppose this dispatch to be true, and that William should succeed in organizing his con-

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tinental concert to oppose British designs in South Africa. What could he do? How could he bring any material force to bear? The proposition is farcical. The whole continent of Europe could not land one soldier in South Africa or anywhere else by sea transport against the will of England. Or, if by stealth or stratagem or by British neglect they should succeed in landing their soldier, they could never afterward supply him with three days' rations from a sea-base without England's consent. These are facts of the most stubborn kind, though everybody, except the English themselves, seems trying to evade or ignore them; the wish that things might be otherwise appearing to be father to the thought. If England wants to crush the Transvaal Republic she will do it, and she will do it simply and solely by virtue of that overmastering sea-power which is the result of her unparalleled shipbuilding.

We come now to consider the phase of England's new naval policy, which is most interesting in the mechanical and industrial sense. I have shown by simple compilation from the British naval estimates, annually voted by Parliament, that, since 1885, England has expended for increase of her navy $541,250,000, and that this expenditure has produced a total of 1,209,400 tons of displacement and 1,945,600 indicated horse-power.

Closer examination of the successive annual naval estimates discloses the fact that in the general average 64 per cent. of the total displacement and 97 per cent. of the total indicated horse-power have been built by contract in private ship-yards and machine shops of the United Kingdom.

At the average rate of contract prices since 1885, the 64 per cent. of total displacement represents the sum of $302,350,000, and the 97 per cent. of total indicated horse-power represents the sum of $75,000,000, or a total sum of $377,350,000 paid to the private ship-building and engine-building industries of Great Britain during the twelve years under consideration for hulls and machinery alone. To this must be added the sums paid for armor and gun mounts, which are all made by contract, and for materials furnished by contract to vessels built in the national dock-yards. In short, the whole sum expended by England on her new navy has gone to encourage, promote and sustain the private industries of the realm, excepting only the wages paid to the workmen on the payrolls of the dock-yards and the royal

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gun factories. Examination of the British naval estimates from year to year since 1885 shows that on an average the proportion of dock-yard and gun factory wages to the total was $6\frac{3}{10}$ per cent., so that on the basis of a total expenditure of $541,250,000 during the period under consideration, $507,151,250 went to the credit of private industries and $34,099,000 to the public dock-yards.

The general result is that in English practice the naval programme from year to year is adapted to the needs and capacities of the English shipbuilder, who is considered the friend and mainstay of the country; whose ship-yard, as I have already said, is recognized as the keystone of the arch of the British Empire; who is always fostered, encouraged, and promoted in all his endeavors as the chief bulwark and first line of imperial power.

Thus far I have only traced the application of British public policy and shipbuilding resource to the increase of the British navy and augmentation of the Imperial sea power in its warlike aspects. But this is by no means all. To such an extent has the shipbuilding resource of Great Britain been developed by the consistent, consecutive, and unstinted aid and promotion lavished on it through public policy that, in addition to its output for British use, vast as that has been and is, it has found time and means to build whole navies for Japan, China, Chili, Argentina, Brazil, Portugal, and some lesser states, parts of navies for Italy, Russia, Germany, Spain, Holland, Sweden and Norway—in short for every maritime power on earth except France and the United States—together with merchant fleets for every flag except our own. The aggregate of this output of English shipbuilding for foreign account is not accessible, but its net results are the further development and enrichment of her shipbuilding industry to an extent hardly second in importance to that caused by the patronage of the British government itself.

Summing up, we find that British shipbuilding has built the British Empire as we see it to-day; that, having built the empire, it maintains its integrity, asserts its supremacy, and, as compared with the feebler efforts of other powers, assures its impregnability in sea power; all this in the military sense only. If we extend our view to the commercial, industrial, and financial aspects of the resulting state of things, the contemplation becomes if possible still more astounding. British ships now carry more than seven-tenths of the world's ocean-borne commerce as a

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whole, not merely in the traffic between other countries and Great Britain herself, but in the international traffic of all other countries with each other, irrespective of British ports. This is a source of absolute tribute from all nations to Great Britain amounting to nearly eight hundred millions of dollars a year, every cent of which is cash on a gold basis. And the only escape from it possible to any nation under present conditions is simply to stop trading; because, as matters stand, there can be no sea-borne commerce unless it is carried in British ships.

In estimating the commercial or, one might say, the actual money value of commanding sea-power in the hands of one nation, due account must be taken of the fact that the advance of civilization, and the progress of its acts, augment the interdependence of peoples in commerce, industry, and finance, and correspondingly lessen the possibilities of national self-containment or isolation in a ratio of almost geometrical progression. Hence the relative value of commanding sea-power, and with it monopoly of ocean carriage, as to the sum-total of human productivity grows year by year out of proportion to any other growth. The English perceive this clearly, and the marvellous energy they are now exerting seaward is simply an endeavor to compensate for their relative decline in exports, as compared with their necessary imports, by grasping more and more of the increment of common-carriage by sea. At this moment, without any traffic tolls, the balance of trade on the basis of imports and exports alone is nearly a billion dollars a year adverse to the United Kingdom. But her traffic tolls, with the banking, insurance, brokerage, and handling profits, all of which must be paid by the cargoes and passengers carried, more than even up the account sheet as a whole. From this point of view it is not an extreme stretch of the imagination to conceive a time when the British Islands will rely entirely for means of subsistence on the earnings of their merchant fleet.

In our own case the manifest destiny of future progress points with rigid finger to the sea. If we do not progress in that direction we must stand still. For the time to come, if existing conditions are perpetuated, our lot will be little better than that of producing cargoes for British ships to carry, and of earning money to pay British traffic-tolls.

LEWIS NIXON.

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OUR TRADE RELATIONS WITH CANADA.

BY JOHN W. RUSSELL.

THE protectionist principles of President McKinley and his party are combined with the programme of reciprocity for the upbuilding of the export trade of the United States. A change of Canadian policy from protection to tariff reform at a time when the United States is reverting to protection does not obscure a view which has always been clear to the statesmen of the Dominion—the perception of their country's advantage in closer trade relations with the Republic. The nearness and magnitude of the market, together with exceptional inducements of profit and convenience, make such relations in every way most desirable. The Liberal Government now in power at Ottawa are naturally in favor of a commercial treaty with the United States, if it can be obtained on satisfactory terms; and there are reasons why their efforts, if not already doomed to failure by an advance decision at Washington, may meet with a more encouraging reception than those of their predecessors. Accepting in good faith the Republican principle of reciprocity, they simply ask that its application to Canada shall be a matter of business impartiality, and they expect no concessions for which they are not prepared to make a fair return. Have they any well-founded hope of success? Does the failure of past attempts reveal a fixed principle of policy which will again be applied by the United States with a similar result? And is there also a fixed Canadian policy which will prevent compliance with necessary conditions?

The past history of the question shows that political reasons, largely tinged by the memories of two wars, have added their weight to such economic objections to reciprocity as existed, and that in some cases they may have been alone sufficient to prejudice the success of the Canadian proposals. The operation of the

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Elgin treaty of 1854 was so beneficial that the people of both countries would gladly have seen it renewed, but hostile feelings prevailed in high places and barred the way. The speech of Sumner and the exasperation due to English aristocratic sympathy with the South told decisively against the Canadian offer. Between 1866, the date of the abrogation of the treaty, and the last effort of the Conservative Administration in 1892, Canada has made six attempts to obtain reciprocity, and the disappointing results have given color to the assertion that the offer which comes from Washington with such good will toward Brazil and the other republics of the continent is not made in the same spirit to Canada. Without discussing the historical incidents of these attempts, it is sufficient to say that those which were made between 1879 and 1892 were subject to the needs of the Canadian protectionists. The Commissioners could not extend their offer so as to include a satisfactory list of manufactures. The protectionists, who controlled the Government, would not allow the imports of Canadian natural products to be paid for in American factory goods. Such a course they deemed ruinous to their interests, and the Government had urgent reasons for respecting their veto. After the passage of the Wilson bill, defective as it was compared with the legislation originally promised, there was a sympathetic response from the Liberals of the Dominion to the friendly policy of the new tariff, and renewed attempts were made to influence Canadian opinion in the same direction. It was generally believed that a return to the McKinley rates was unlikely, and that the United States had entered upon a gradual abandonment of protection. Such hopes as were founded, however, upon the supposed mutual approach of similar economic policies were soon disappointed by the high-tariff reaction. It was then seen that whatever trade concessions might be expected from the larger nation to the smaller would only be given for special reasons and as exceptions to the rule of predominant opinion. This certainly holds good to-day. As the Dingley rates against Canadian natural products were imposed for definite reasons, it is not likely they will be lowered unless inducements are offered other than those which have already been weighed and found wanting in the counsels of protection.

On the other hand, the Canadian situation has recently undergone a significant change. On April 22 last a tariff bill was in-

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troduced in the House of Commons which, it is safe to say, was not contemplated by the Liberal leaders a short time ago. Disclaiming retaliation, they have nevertheless been compelled to assume a position determined for them by a partial exclusion from one of the two great markets which absorb nine-tenths of Canadian trade. It is perhaps too early to know whether the task of a reciprocity treaty has been made more or less difficult thereby, as the schedules of the Dingley bill have not been finally determined, and there yet remain ways of approach which otherwise would not be available. But the new tariff practically discriminates against the United States and gives a preference to Great Britain. There is one schedule for those countries which admit Canadian goods free or at minimum tariff rates, and another for protectionist countries. Articles regarded as special sources of revenue and as raw material in certain lines of manufacture will be admitted at fixed rates, irrespective of the country from which they are imported. The new feature of the tariff which attracts most attention is a reciprocity clause whereby a one-fourth reduction in duties is offered after the first year to all countries treating Canada as favorably as the Canadian tariff treats them. This applies at once to Great Britain and New South Wales, and would apply to the United States except for the Dingley bill.

The preference given to Great Britain, which is not special, but results from her position as a free-trade nation, does not involve any departure from the industrial policy under which she has prospered during the past half century, but it has been very warmly received by the friends of imperial preferential trade as an important step towards the realization of their scheme. It is not necessary to dwell here upon the political implications of the new departure with regard to the mother country, but rather to notice that, so far as the United States is concerned, the adverse discrimination is not special, and has no retaliatory feature. None of the existing duties against American goods has been increased, and wherever the interests of Canada demand a cheapening of the necessaries of life and the raw materials of manufacture the United States shares in the benefit of reduction, notably in the case of corn, which has been placed on the free list, and of iron and its manufactures.

It is a source of regret to Canadian Liberal statesmen that the

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Dingley bill threatens the further restriction of a trade which is so beneficial. Each country produces something which the other has not, or which is superior in quality to a similar product in the other. Brazilian coffee and American cotton goods may seem to the protectionist specially fitted to be the subject of a reciprocity treaty; but it is no less true that the two contiguous English-speaking countries have climatic differences with resulting products quite as advantageously exchangeable. The Dominion grows better wheat and barley, the Republic grows better corn; and to the objection that similarity in products partially neutralizes the mutual gain of exchange let the history of the Elgin treaty make answer. To those who denounced that treaty as a one-sided bargain the Hon. George Brown, the Canadian Commissioner to Washington in 1871, showed that during the twelve years of its operation the balance of trade was largely in favor of the United States. Nearness of trade centres in the two countries has in many cases determined the lines of commerce. Ontario prefers to get its coal from Pennsylvania rather than fetch it from the distant mines of Nova Scotia, while the latter are more convenient to the manufacturing cities of New England. If the broad dictates of mutual interest were unchecked we should see the refinements of economic theory cast to the winds.

But right athwart the clear course of commercial advantage come a few dominant conceptions whose influence has been felt for more than a hundred years. These two English-speaking peoples are the product of a schism, and though they have a close social resemblance and a measure of political life in common, they yet hold certain differences to be fundamental. The cabinet system of the one is contrasted with the presidential system of the other; the respective spheres of federal and State or provincial legislation in both countries widely differ; more important still, the connection of Canada with Great Britain is a fact which largely modifies economic considerations. The commercial idea, prompted by gain, the national idea, strengthened by patriotic sentiment—these forces have vigorous play between two nations of the same race, and their opposition has created the perplexing resultant which now exists.

Improved trade relations between the two countries must come either through a closer assimilation of their tariffs or by means of a treaty giving mutual preferences and concessions.

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The former can only result from a change of policy in the direction of free trade; the latter may be effected by an arrangement for reciprocal commercial advantages agreed upon for special reasons, for a limited time, but without any such change. It is worth while to note the circumstances which, as I believe, have made the latter the less hopeful means of accomplishing the desired end. In the first place, official opinion at Washington and Ottawa has lately become less interested in regard to negotiations for reciprocity. It is now known that the Dominion Government have postponed their intended mission until a more opportune season, and that the recent visit of two Canadian cabinet ministers at Washington disclosed difficulties which have made more improbable the realization of their plans. Some of these difficulties are ascribed to the unfriendly policy of their Conservative predecessors; others they doubtless feel to be connected with past futile attempts and the conviction that inequality of interest makes the stronger and richer power indifferent to the proposals of the weaker. What other construction, indeed, could be placed upon this repeated knocking at the Congressional door which has been rather tardily opened on some occasions, and on others not at all? Apart from the friendly exchange of official courtesies, they might well reflect upon the impression which six or seven failures have produced at Washington, and might very properly ask themselves whether there has not been a resulting loss of dignity in the negotiations. It is quite true that the smaller power should initiate the proceedings; but many Canadians are of the opinion that this has been done often enough, and that one more failure may create the presumption of an American attitude finally adverse and the expression of a fixed policy. It is also true that the Hitt resolution, unanimously recommended by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, came near passing through Congress; but its promoters were undoubtedly looking to a commercial union which would have compromised the autonomy of the Dominion, and as such would not have been accepted by the Canadian Government and people.

Certain requirements which would be made by the United States as conditions precedent to a treaty are well settled. The terms of the Elgin treaty will never again be considered as a basis of reciprocity, and in any future schedule of exchangeable articles

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Canada would have to include a varied list of manufactures, and would be compelled to discriminate against Great Britain. Mr. Blaine announced the governing principle in his report to the Senate dated April 15, 1892. He said: "It was regarded as of essential importance that a list of manufactured goods should be included in the schedule of articles for free or favored exchange. It was the desire of the United States to make a reciprocity convention which would be exclusive in its application to the United States and Canada, and that other countries which were not parties to it should not enjoy gratuitously the favors which the two neighboring countries might reciprocally concede to each other for valuable consideration and at a large sacrifice of their respective revenues." In considering what the Dominion Government would be willing to concede, it is necessary to say that the present situation is not summed up in the mere replacement of a Conservative by a Liberal Administration; it rather concerns the modified attitude of the whole electorate. Any one who has carefully observed the course of political opinion in Canada during the last few years knows that the requirements of the United States with regard to a reciprocity treaty could not be met. No arrangement involving a common tariff for the two countries as against the rest of the world would be considered, nor would a discrimination against Great Britain. Nor could the Liberal Government, consistently with their promises, offer to admit such a variety of manufactured goods as would injure too suddenly and severely the manufacturing interests which have grown up in the Dominion since 1879. It is not necessary here to refer to the legal or constitutional objections which Great Britain might interpose. But it could not be expected that the Government of the United States would give a favorable hearing to proposals which did not meet all the conditions imposed by that contracting party which, in any scheme of reciprocity, must be predominant. There can be little doubt that at Washington the whole subject is viewed with comparative indifference. To the United States the Dominion is only one of many countries with which a reciprocity agreement may for special reasons modify the present policy of protection; but to the Dominion the United States is one of the two great markets with which nearly all her trade is done.

Under conceivable circumstances the 70,000,000 of the Republic might well demand political union as the condition

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precedent to a share in their industrial privileges. But high protection and a denial of reciprocity do not mean a pressure which may not be borne. It is a mistake to suppose that if the American farmer is protected against Canadian agricultural products he is therefore, on the whole, less free from competition. He already produces more than he can sell at home, and his hope and interest point as well to foreign markets. His Canadian rival is also resolved to sell his surplus produce, and if the States immediately across the border will not buy from him he will look towards Liverpool. He has already cultivated the English market with excellent results, and to it he will transfer the competition he is denied on his own continent. The American shipments which bring such good returns abroad will have to meet the displaced Canadian products which Mr. Dingley and his friends have sent there. The Dominion Government have already taken special measures whereby connection with the British market will be made more frequent and remunerative.

As to discrimination against England, there is unquestionably an increased repugnance to it among all classes of the Dominion. The protective tariff of 1879 was a blow at British free trade, but it was an assertion of fiscal independence which gratified domestic pride, and the acquiescence of the mother country was an additional proof of her respect for colonial rights. A very different feeling would be aroused if a Canadian Administration were now to propose a treaty giving any foreign nation preference over British goods in the Dominion. Already a policy has been declared under which such a course would be impossible. Both political parties are pledged against any such preference, and Mr. Laurier is no less emphatic than Sir Charles Tupper.

Though writers like Mr. Goldwin Smith may appeal with confidence to the doctrine of the economic unity of this continent, the power of sentiment and political affiliation will largely nullify their most cherished formulas. Geography may make nations friends, but only in co-operation with more potent forces. Desirable as are closer trade relations between the two countries, it is futile to hope for them in the face of a policy which, though it may not be intentionally unfriendly, would mean commercial atrophy for Canada if the British market did not exist. The idea of a common race and origin is not yet strong enough

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for the hard maxims of competition, and until it is the Dominion may not expect any more economic consideration than Brazil or Mexico. Thousands of Americans may contend that she deserves less, since the latter are republics while the former is in their eyes an outpost of monarchy. To what extent anti-British feeling may aid protectionist principles it is impossible to say; but it is none the less true that there is in the United States a phase of thought and a school of journalism which disposes of the whole question by the alleged rule of political necessity. Not Canada, but Great Britain, is the chief object of its attention. It seems to look upon a modification of the Dominion's political status as necessary to a final determination of the point at issue. In effect it demands: Cease your connection with the Old World and accept unreservedly the democracy of the new; dissolve your relation as the western arm of an Empire which ought not to have voice or direction on this continent; leave feudalism and its hereditary rank and precedence on the soil where they have so long grown—do this or you shall not have access to the markets of the Republic; we do not wish our business relations with you to be in any way conditioned by your political relations with a foreign state. The fact that Canada has already complied with some of these conditions is apparently not recognized; that she still retains a political connection with England makes her answerable for all the rest.

These views probably have a numerous following, but do not stand for the sanity and self-control of the best American thought, and are therefore not so formidable if one should apply Matthew Arnold's test and weigh opinions instead of counting them. But whatever their extent and importance they ought not to encourage the supposition that the Dominion is such a suppliant for commercial opportunities that she is willing to barter her nationhood in order to obtain them. Her choice of an independent course is now a matter of open political record, and carries the clearest implication as to those countries with which she will trade and on what conditions. So far as the Republic is concerned it is not to be expected that the Canadian offer of freer trade, as contained in the general reciprocity clause of the new tariff, will induce any important modifications of the Dingley bill. The protectionists are in office, and they will have their way for the present. But recent indications may

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suggest to them the precarious tenure on which their power rests. Public opinion in the United States shifts to and fro rapidly until stable conditions answer its expectations, and the Republican party will speedily be judged by the effects of its policy. The friends of tariff reform are already preparing to fight the battle over again, and were never more deeply convinced of the truth of their principles. The Liberals of the Dominion will watch their efforts with sympathetic interest, hoping that the cause whose triumph was nullified for a time by party treachery will yet prevail. When that time comes, as they believe it will come, they will no longer rely upon special negotiations to secure the benefits of freer trade.

JOHN W. RUSSELL.

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THE TRUST AND THE WORKING-MAN.

BY THE HON. LLOYD BRYCE.

I CITE a bill which is a fair sample of a kind of legislation that threatens the country:

"An act to prevent monopolies in articles or commodities of common use, to prohibit the restraint of trade and commerce, and to define the procedure of the Attorney-General in securing testimony." It declares null and void, as against public policy, any contract, agreement, arrangement, or combination which creates a monopoly in the manufacture, production, or sale of any article or commodity of common use, which restricts trade or commerce in such articles, or restrains or prevents competition in their production or sale, or interferes with the free pursuit of any lawful business. A person or corporation entering into such a combination shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of $5,000 or one year's imprisonment or both. Suit may be brought by the Attorney-General against any person, trustee, manager, director, or other officer or agent of a corporation, or against the corporation as such to prevent violation of the act.

The combinations at which such bills aim are endless in their variety. They may have for their object the sustaining or raising of prices, the limiting of production, sometimes carried to the extent of suppressing one or several of the factories, the distributing of business, or paying into a pool by the parties to the agreement charges on sales beyond their assigned allowance to be divided in certain proportions among them.

But whatever phase these combinations assume they all revolve around the restriction of competition with a view to preventing losses or increasing profits through prices.

In discussing legislation intended to prohibit this there are several questions that present themselves. Can you enforce such legislation? Are not economic laws of themselves operating to bring about the very results aimed at by artificial laws? If so, is the excuse for interfering adequate, and would not the evils resulting from such interference greatly exceed the benefits?

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Of course the spirit of these bills is against the wealthy manufacturer, but the difficulty of drawing the line perhaps prevents the distinct statement being made in any bill that I have studied. Consequently, if strictly interpreted, it would affect the agreement between the two rival village blacksmiths to keep up the price of shoeing, as well as that between the country grocers not to undersell each other. For I venture the assertion there is scarcely an industry in which some such agreement does not exist among some of its members. Mr. Justice White, who delivered the dissenting opinion in the Trans-Missouri Freight Association case, thus speaks of the Sherman Anti-Trust law:

> "The interpretation of the statute, therefore, which holds that reasonable agreements are within its purview makes it embrace every peaceable organization or combination of the laborer to benefit his condition either by obtaining an increase of wages or diminution of the hours of labor."

Organized labor and organized capital are both developments of the industrial system running side by side, and each is beneficial to the other. To restrain the one and not the other is to establish the principle of class legislation. Once it is recognized that the law discriminates against capitalists, where will the capital come from to start up new industries? The capital already engaged here in business that can take to itself wings will do so. The capital that cannot get away will shrink up. Production will decline, and if such hostile legislation be persisted in the country generally will be reduced to the condition of Kansas.

Indeed one of the principal difficulties of this type of legislation is that it has a way of hitting the very people in whose interest it pretends to be directed. Some of the bills expressly exempt labor unions. But there are other classes more difficult to distinguish. Many of the agreements between business men are not reduced to writing, consequently prohibitive legislation would tend to injure the honest man in favor of him who would swear falsely. The principal question is, however, whether economic laws are not of themselves operating to bring about the very conditions aimed at by these artificial laws.

Suppose six factories are all engaged in the manufacture of the same article. They are all in business to make money, but by reason of competition all are losing money. Let us assume that the managers of these six factories come together and decide among themselves to raise prices.

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If they put up prices to a point which will increase their profits beyond what will be a reasonable return on the capital employed, immediately, with the superfluity of capital that now exists, outsiders start up, begin the competition anew with improved machinery, and beat down prices to as low a scale as before, or possibly to a lower scale. But a salutary lesson has been gained, and it is this: adjust prices to the smallest possible amount that will leave a fair return on the capital employed; otherwise, new Richmonds will come into the field.

Thus a law of limitation is always running against all these combinations, never mind what shape they take.

This law of limitation not only applies to combinations between moderate concerns, but equally to those between large ones. Take the most extreme case of an agreement—a trust. It always has this law of limitation running against it equally with other industrial combinations. The Cordage trust in the days of its prosperity had the Goods for a competitor. The American Sugar Refining Company had the Spreckels—the American Tobacco Company has the Lorillards. Whatever form the combination among manufacturers assumes, if they raise prices too high their Nemesis is at hand. If the Standard Oil Company is an exception to this rule, it is because the company controls the sources of supply, which is not the case with other concerns. Besides its principle of business has been to make its profits by lowering prices, which is its security. It defies competition not because of its size, not because of any artificial laws, but because of its business insight in perceiving that by controlling the sources of supply the price of oil could be put so low that it would not pay outside capital to come in and compete with it. Indeed, during the last twenty odd years the price has fallen in a greater ratio than that of any other article I am aware of—viz., from fourteen cents to a little under five cents per gallon.

Much of the opposition to these combinations, indeed, proceeds from the fact that they are all loosely called trusts; and the mistaken idea arises that the profits of those concerned are on a scale with a few exceptional trusts. In point of fact, many of these combinations—I may say most of them—are really struggles for existence, without which the parties to the agreement would go to the wall. Large or small as may be their profits, however, it will be admitted, I think, that these contracts, combinations,

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and trusts have been gradually developing during the last twenty-five years. A review of this period will show that two tendencies have been most pronounced—namely, a rise in wages and a fall in prices.

The working-man can ride over more territory in New York for five cents to-day than he could for twenty cents twenty years ago, and the same principle to an almost equal degree applies to every other branch of industry that supplies his necessities. For instance, from 1875 to 1895 steel rails have fallen from $68.75 to $24.33 per ton; sugar from 10.8 cents to 4.6 cents per pound; oil from 14.1 to 4.9 cents per gallon; cotton goods (standard sheeting) from 10.41 to 5.74 cents per yard; shipments of wheat from Chicago to New York, all rail, from 24.1 to 12.17 per bushel. Since 1895 there has been a still further decline in each one of the articles I have mentioned. But I prefer to adhere to the scale of prices before two years ago as being more nearly that of the period I have taken for my labor scale.

A table prepared by the *Street Railway Review*, touching on this subject, tells the story by comparison, showing the appreciation of the purchase power of money during the past ten years as applied to street car fares and sundry commodities:

		Per cent.
1886	What a unit would buy (in 1886) - - - - -	100
1896	What the same unit would buy (in 1896):	
	Street Car Rides	337.5
	Bricks	178
	Steel Rails	174
	Silver	145
	Sugar	137
	Portland Cement	136
	Wheat	134
	Corn	131
	Cotton	122
	Coal	118
	Salt Pork	85

A like reduction in prices appears in every department of industry. What does this cheapening mean? Simply that not only necessaries but unheard-of luxuries are placed within our reach. An acquaintance proudly showed me a pair of boots one day that he was wearing. They were machine made, but of an extremely good shape and fit, and costing only $2.50 were at a rate at which

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the working-men could hardly have purchased any kind of a pair ten years go. My acquaintance was a very rich man, and those boots were good enough for him. Thus the luxuries of one generation become in the next within the means of all, and the working-man to-day can walk in the millionaire's boots at the same price he paid ten years ago for a pair of the coarsest shoes, if not at a lower price. I have shown what a distance the working-man can cover for five cents in a luxurious cable car, and when he reaches home, if he be inclined for literature, he can read in his Sunday paper for another five cents words of authors who twenty-five years ago would have been entirely outside his reach. His wife and daughters possibly indulge in these delights of literature, however, more than he, and there is not an article of their daily consumption that they cannot enjoy two-fold more than they did before the period I have mentioned.

I now come to the question of wages during the past twenty-five years, *i. e.*, during the time of this conspicuous fall in prices.

One of the most extraordinary features of the late campaign was the complaint of the agitator that prices were so low that the working-man got low wages. History shows the fallacy. The trend of wages all over the world during the past twenty-five years has been upward as the trend of prices has been downward. If high prices made prosperity, the Parisian during the Franco-German war had no right to complain of the siege, for any kind of meat sold for five dollars per pound and wages were almost nil. Of course, if prices are so low they are unremunerative to the employer, then the working-man's wages will suffer, and if no one is making money he cannot complain. Such a condition, however, must be only temporary and of an exceptional nature, as otherwise the employer would go out of business. I take the following table from the census returns :

Year.	No of operatives.	Wages paid. Millions.	Dollars per operative.
1860	1,311,000	379	289
1870	2,054,000	620	302
1880	2,733,000	948	347
1890	4,713,000	2,283	485

"The average of wages has risen 60 per cent. since 1870, and at the same time the accumulation of urban wealth per head has been 76 per cent. more than in the period from 1850 to 1870, which shows that the rise in wealth and the increase of wages go almost hand-in-hand," says Mr. M. G. Mulhall, the great statistician.

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But it is during this very time while the tendency to make pools and arrangements, combinations and trusts, has been most pronounced—*i. e.*, during the last thirty years—that this upward tendency of wages and downward tendency of prices has been most pronounced. Is it too much to assume that these pools and combinations, these arrangements and trusts, have been part and parcel of the general scheme? Thus economic laws would of themselves appear to be working out our salvation.

Perhaps it might be held that the public would be better off under unrestricted competition, and the claim is often made that the people have a right to demand this. It seems to me that already the public secures the benefit of competition to the fullest extent economical conditions warrant. Let me ask, however, what would be the effect of passing penal laws to enforce unrestricted competition? It would drive many out of business, leave their trade to a reduced number, and so decrease production. What would become of the workmen in the concerns that went under? Many would be walking the streets. Eventually some would probably be absorbed into the surviving factories, but there would be delay, and they could never be all absorbed until the survivors had secured all the business of the other factories. Thus a reduced number of employers would be getting a living out of the business. There would be hardship and delay in finding re-employment on the part of the workmen, and competition would be rather restricted than expanded, for the business would be now confined to a smaller number of producers than before. Consequently we should be carried further away than ever from "unrestricted competition" by the forcible attempt to impose "unrestricted competition."

It is a dangerous matter trying to fly in the face of the laws of nature or of trade. Experiments were being made a few years ago with a torpedo. It was directed at an old hulk in the harbor, but contrary to all expectations, it turned in its course and exploded among the spectators on the beach with terrible effect.

Again unrestricted competition practically means that the manufacturer's hands shall be tied. He is to make no effort to counteract a competition that may be ruining him, because his profits are supposed to be inordinate.

Perhaps you will frame the law to apply only to large aggregations of capital and where profits *are* great. We have touched on

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some of the objections to this discrimination before, but granting that you can draw the line, and do not frighten off new capital by the fear of a difference of opinion as to the point where discrimination is to begin, would your condition be improved?

A review of the figures I have given in evidence of the cheapening of prices and the rise in wages during the last few years makes as good a showing for large capital in this double respect as for small; I might say a better. The New York Traction Company is a large aggregation of capital, and yet it charges only the same fare for riding over all its lines that each separate part required for going over the fractional distance. The Standard Oil Company is surely a large aggregation of capital, and sold oil at five cents a gallon in 1895, whereas in its earlier stage it demanded fourteen cents a gallon. For working people to complain, therefore, of large aggregations of capital is equal to their saying: "We resent your enabling us to ride for five cents as far as twenty odd years ago we had to pay twenty cents to ride; we resent your letting us buy as much refined oil for five cents as we used to buy for fourteen, or as much sugar for four cents as we used to buy for ten cents, or as much sheeting for our beds at five cents as we used to pay ten cents for, or to bring by railroad as much wheat for bread from the West to our children's mouths for twelve cents as we used to pay twenty-four cents to bring. In short, our interest is to destroy you; because you have put, not only necessaries, but unheard-of luxuries within the reach of our wives, our children, and ourselves, and have enabled us to purchase for one hour's labor as much as we would have had to work one hour and three-quarters (stated broadly) to purchase before."*

Take the department store, against which so many bills are aimed, and which is but another phase of the employment of large capital. There is not an article of their daily consumption that the people cannot enjoy to a far greater degree than before by reason of the department store, and only because it supplies the "many" can it exist.

Take the press. Each great daily paper, even those that declaim most loudly against capital, are but large consolidations of capital. Before each large paper, innumerable smaller journalistic ventures have gone under. Their circulation grows in inverse

* I have adhered to the period between 1875 and 1895 for the sake of consistency, but the fall since then is even more marked.

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ratio to their prices, and it is because the smaller ventures have succumbed before them that they can sell so cheap.

If particularly sympathetically inclined, the working-man may drop a tear over the sad ventures in journalistic enterprises that have made this cheapening possible, but he would hardly put out double the money every time he buys a paper to keep the defunct enterprises alive. Yet, strange to say, this is the very thing the demagogue would have him do when he declaims against capital, trusts, corporations, and department stores. The fact is there is a motive in the demagogue's talk. He wishes to hunt with the hounds and to run with the hare; to voice the complaints of the comparatively small number of sufferers in the smaller ventures and to cloud the reason of the beneficiaries of these failures till they imagine him their friend.

It may be objected perhaps, that it is not large capital but machinery that has tended to lower prices. Large capital provides adequate machinery, and it is only large capital that can keep up with the necessary improvements in machinery, and always secure the best. I have already shown the enormous rise in wages during the period of this consolidation of capital. Do the large concerns pay a lower rate than the small? Does the Traction Company of New York pay its employees less than the old lines of horse cars? Does the department store pay lower salaries than the small store pays? Does the working-man in the various branches of industry that supply the department store receive a lesser rate for his work than when he is supplying the separate establishments? Does the press pay less for printing and for composition than when the journals were smaller? The most casual examination will show that there is not a single one of these various branches of industry where the tendency in wages has not been upwards since their expansion and the consequent fall in the price of their commodities. To be sure, just recently, this upward tendency of wages has been checked by business depression. But I will venture to say the cuts in wages in the small concerns have been more excessive and of more general occurrence than in the large concerns—for the very sufficient reason that their smaller reserves of capital have made such cuts a matter of greater necessity. I will venture another assertion, too, that the working-man's wages just recently have not suffered a decline in equal ratio to the contraction of the profits of the employer in the industry in which he is engaged.

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On the contrary so far from the large concern paying a smaller rate of wages the tendency would be for them to pay higher.

In the largest output is the largest and the most stable profits. That concern enjoying the best profits can best afford to pay good wages; and it will, in the long run, do so, because it is a matter of policy to keep its workmen satisfied and the large concern is best able to maintain this policy.

Besides when business is profitable, the demand for workmen increases and they can best enforce under these circumstances a demand for high wages.

No, the workman has no quarrel with large aggregations of capital. Therefore, in making these laws against pools, combinations, and trusts, he would gain nothing by applying the law only to great aggregations of capital.

But to come back to ordinary combinations; so far from establishing monopolies these combinations must have often tended to break up monopolies, and if you prohibit them you are but spiking your own guns. Suppose, for instance, X had a tobacco factory, and he made a combination with other factories not in the American Tobacco Company. Although this combination might only be to restrain trade in the particular locality where these factories were situated, with a view to enable it to compete the better with the trust, this would be enough to make the agreement criminal. Read Judge Peckham's interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law in the Trans-Missouri Freight Association case. You will see that he does not limit the law to combinations of transportation, but embraces combinations in all departments of business. He holds that it is not necessary to show that the combination is unreasonable nor what the intentions of the contracting parties were. If there be a contract in restraint of trade, though the object might be to compete the more successfully against some large concern, that intention makes no difference and the combination is illegal. No proof is necessary that the combination actually does restrain trade, or that trade is harmed. The true meaning of this is, therefore, that any contract *touching* trade is illegal. The deplorable consequences of such a sweeping decision I leave to your own judgment.

The fact is, all these laws are loosely drawn, since they are framed to meet the demands of people at sea in their complaints,

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for now they declaim against trusts and pools and combinations on the score of raising prices, and in the next breath against department stores because they lower prices. How can any human law meet such conflicting grievances? The judge must interpret them according to his political bias, and while to-day the decision may be popular, to-morrow it may be the reverse.

Of course, I do not mean to say there are not many exceptions to the rules I have laid down about these combinations, etc. I only contend in the main that my argument is right. I have tried also to use a broad brush, preferring to show the principles influencing modern industry rather than to attempt to illustrate and defend every phase these combinations you propose to destroy may take.

But lest I should seem avoiding the issue, let me take the case of a trust. All these trade combinations are loosely designated trusts, as I have said; but strictly speaking, a trust is where a number of manufacturers or producers relinquish the individual control of their properties in the common interest. This was the plan of the Standard Oil Company, as I understand it, and though now I believe it has been reorganized and placed on the same basis as any other large corporation, it will answer the purposes of illustration. Suppose you dissolve the Standard Oil Company; you would reduce its profits undoubtedly, but, though it is a matter of conjecture, I believe the re-establishment of the numerous refineries it has suppressed would more than eat up these profits and require a rise in the price of oil to meet the increased cost of production. The same, I think, would be the case with the dissolution of any of the other large trusts and their obligatory return to their original condition.

There is one aspect of the trust on which much might be written, but which space compels me to treat briefly, viz., the trust in politics. Stated as a broad rule, I think that when the trust enters politics it is generally for self-protection. The more laws you build up against trusts the more inducement you give to them to enter and to remain in politics.

To be sure, a few trusts have given rise to great fortunes, but these are seldom due to legislative action. The development of a new country and improvements in machinery have afforded opportunities for the accumulation of wealth unsurpassed in the history of the world.

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Generally speaking, this wealth has been accumulated by doing something for the public in a better or a cheaper manner than it was done before, and the measure of the wealth is in a sense a measure of the service done. In seeing this wealth and comparing it with our own, we are apt to forget that it is generally but the reflex of our own material advancement, and consider there is something wrong with the system that admits of such wide discrepancies in fortune. Be this as it may, the particular phase of the matter I have been discussing is not these great fortunes, but combinations and contracts among ordinary business men. An unpopularity is cast on these by the looseness of designation that sums them all up under the name of "trust"; and I have only taken the trust itself to show that even in this extreme case legislation may do more harm than good.

The reason we don't admit all this is that the depression of the last year or so clouds our judgment. We attribute closing factories, decreased work, instead of to business depression, to pools, combinations, and trusts, whereas these have been sustaining us by making it possible for the industry on which we depend for employment to live.

Besides, we mistakenly attribute much of the hardship that really belongs to the whole industrial system to these particular phases of the industrial system alone, and ask that the law step in for our protection—the hardship that is continually doing away with the middleman, changing the small proprietor into the employee, eliminating the weak, as in the case of the small shop-keeper before the department store. But in this elimination lies the great saving in production, and as the workman gains by the cheapening of production he has no right to complain; on the contrary, he ought to rejoice, for the harshness is directed against the comparatively few and is in his interest. It is the harshness that displaced the driver of coaches for the driver of the steam engine; the harshness that displaced the horse-car driver for the motor-man; that, in short, is displacing inadequate labor for the adequate; and that in dispensing with the high-paid middleman engages ten active workers in his place—the harshness that is inseparable from all progress.

It is extraordinary what misconception exists on this topic. Judge Peckham, in delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court against the Trans-Missouri Freight Association, said:

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"Such combinations deprive of occupation little traders and manufacturers, and turn them adrift to seek other employment. In business or trading combinations they (trusts) may even temporarily, *or perhaps permanently, reduce the price of the article traded in or manufactured by reducing the expense inseparable from the running of many different companies for the same purpose.* Trade or commerce under those circumstances may nevertheless be badly and unfortunately restrained by driving out of the business the small dealers and worthy men whose lives have been spent therein, and who might be unable to readjust themselves to their altered surroundings. *Mere reduction in the price of the commodity dealt in might be dearly paid for by the ruin of such a class and the absorption of control over one commodity by an all-powerful combination of capital.*"

Again:

"*In this light it is not material that the price of an article may be lowered.* It is in the power of the combination to raise it, and the result in any event is unfortunate for the country *by depriving it of the services of a large number of small but independent dealers who were familiar with the business* and who had spent their lives in it, and who supported themselves and their families from the small profits realized therein.

This political economy is not American; it is Bryanese. It is a wrench backwards, and brings us one degree nearer the stone-axe period. To be sure it is hard on the owner of a stone axe to be supplanted by the man with an iron axe, but no less so than for the driver of a stage coach to be supplanted by the driver of an express train.

Those who recommend a return to previously existing conditions are industrial reactionaries, only equalled by the political reactionaries who would recommend going backwards to the small principalities of Germany or Italy. There were more officers, more tax-collectors, more paraphernalia of government then, because there were many governments in place of one, and it was hard on these functionaries to be discarded. But have not the people at large gained? Consolidation of empire and of capital spring from the same causes, and the very political union we enjoy in the United States is based on the same principles.

So far from these pools and combinations accentuating the hardships of the industrial system, they rather modify it. They enable many industries to remain in business and share the benefit of large capital in a more or less completely consolidated form.

To sum up, there are many difficulties in the way of legislating against these industrial agreements, the principal one being that

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it would probably have the very opposite effect from that intended.

A review of the very period when these industrial agreements have been most conspicuously in operation shows a marked fall in prices and a rise in wages; consequently, so far from injuring the public, it is a fair assumption that they have borne their share in benefiting the public, and therefore that economic laws are bringing about the very results aimed at by remedial legislation.

While there is undoubtedly much that is harsh in connection with trusts, pools, associations, and contracts, it is really the harshness of the industrial system, and this hardship is directed only against the comparatively few, in substituting adequate for inadequate labor.

In short, these poolings and contracts are but another form of co-operation. Co-operation is the eventual development of all industries which cannot stand alone, and which depend on a large output for their profits, since combination is the only condition of their continued existence.

There is a principle behind the movement—the principle is that in union there is strength. The principle can no more be affected by hostile legislation than the principle of gravitation. But while the principle cannot be affected, the capital embarked in business may, just as the capital embarked in railways has been affected by the anti-pooling decision.

In a previous article the loss the workman met with in the disastrous legislation against railroads has been pointed out. If industrial combinations are to be legislated against, let a commission of men who understand economic questions be selected who, at least, will deal with them on economic principles, and remember that the very life-blood of the masses is at stake. To be a mere measure of party politics is suicidal. We are in an acute commercial crisis. Unwise or hasty legislation will give but an additional blow to the suffering industries of the country, through them to the working classes, and will set back the hand on the dial plate of industrial evolution, which is civilization.

LLOYD BRYCE.

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THE RECORD REIGN.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF LORNE, K. T.

MANY Americans feel as much admiration and veneration for Queen Victoria as do her own subjects. The feeling has nothing in common with any preference for monarchical or for republican institutions. It is non-political with large masses of men and women who simply look on the Queen as a woman who throughout a long life, lived conspicuously in the full sight of the world, has borne her burden of office with dignity and wisdom, and has fulfilled, in the way we all deem the best, the ideal of the life of maiden, wife, mother and widow. "Not once or twice in our rough island story, the path of duty was the way to glory," as Tennyson sang; but duty may be followed in various ways, and glory may be sought in more. It has been the proudest prerogative of Queen Victoria to make the woman's duty the nation's glory. The sovereignty the governing people give to their Queen has in no other of the long centuries of our history been so blended with the majesty no suffrages can bestow and no law establish. Elizabeth derived from her Tudor ancestry the love of splendor and conquest which, with her untamed temper, betrayed the wildness of her Cambrian blood. Anne, the last of the Stuarts, who also saw great deeds done by England in war and in letters, was too much influenced by designing favorites to hold the place which can be occupied only by one having a powerful and trained judgment as well as a pure domestic character. To be in the world and yet not of it; to feel with the sorrow and hopes of those around us, and yet to be able to measure the ends that grief and joy may reach; to be thoroughly human and humane, and yet to be carried away by no violent enthusiasm; to be strong enough to bear the isolation of great rank, and still be simple and kindly and perfectly true; to see the

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good even in the most mistaken, and to be able to point out faults without passion and with the insight that is not sympathy, and is not over-censure—are the qualities which were lacking in the rules of Elizabeth and Anne. The one was an autocratic termagant, the other an emotional matron. Their times were alike only in this, that none rightly knew who would succeed to the throne when they should die. But Elizabeth had a clear field for the exercise of her authority. Anne had too big a nursery and too powerful subjects to lead in politics herself. The last of the Tudors could make her little England of only three million souls do much as she chose; and her choice was action that recked little of what is now called "European Concert." The last of the Stuarts was necessarily but a piece to be played in a game where allies had greater forces in the field than those sent by England. The statesmen of Elizabeth were courtiers of the Queen; the men who ruled Britain under Anne were stronger than the sovereign. There has been no previous example of the modern conjunction of party rule with the modifying influence exercised by a woman, at once the sovereign and the most experienced counsellor in the realm. As gold exists where unseen, so influence may be found where no outward form reveals it. The headstrong conceit or passion of a party leader is less apt to be turned from a sudden and violent purpose by the disapproval of a King than by the gentle wording of the writing of a Queen. Counsel is more listened to by men when it comes fron a woman's lips or pen (provided always that the woman have good sense), than from any man, however great his tact may be. Strength may be found in the very weakness of the position of a Constitutional Sovereign, in that the view expressed by the Reigning Personage can be neglected or followed as the Governing Personage, in the shape of the Minister in power, may choose.

The minister must generally feel that such views are those of one whose own position cannot be affected by the wishes expressed, and are therefore based on an impartial consideration of what is best for the country at large. In matters connected with foreign policy, this is especially the case. Fortunately, the patriotism of the British Parliament has usually left foreign complications to be dealt with by the ministry without hindering it by an opposition that might diminish the influence of the government in conducting negotiations abroad. But this is not

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always, and cannot always be, the case, and the Sovereign may in such conjunctions be a most useful intermediary between the Government and the Opposition, bringing the leaders of both to a common opinion with regard to the course to be pursued to avoid a common danger, or enforce a common national policy. It is customary to say that as soon as the constitutional head of a State becomes, or is suspected of being, a partisan, or even of leaning to one party, his usefulness is gone. But this is an exaggeration. No sane person can live among conflicting opinions without having his own views. To be a mere register of the fleeting opinion of the majority would expose the Sovereign or Governor who so effaced himself to the contempt of his own ministers. But his action must not be in public opposed to the majority in the Chamber. If it be, and if a crisis arise in which it is necessary that he disagree with ministers openly, they must resign and another ministry must take the responsibility of the refusal to adopt the policy of the men they supplant. The constitutional head of the state is borne harmless through the crisis, not because he has no opinion of his own, but because that opinion is covered and endorsed by another ministry responsible to the country for it. Where the advice of a government is not accepted, the resignation of that government must necessarily follow, and if the responsibility assumed by its successor be not approved by the people at the election held to confirm the power of the newcomers, the Head of the State may see himself under the disagreeable necessity of recalling the former ministry whose advice he had refused to take.

When a government is defeated at the polls the power of Constitutional Sovereign is for a period considerable, for he can refuse to accept the advice of those who have been defeated in the elections, and yet may not accept their resignations until the meeting of Parliament, thus keeping them dangling between a political heaven of irresponsibility and the earthly obligation of carrying on the administration of affairs *ad interim*. But here again the "next man in," as soon as Parliament has met and the previous ministry is out, has to declare that the responsibility of all that has been done is assumed by himself and his colleagues. "The king can do no wrong," because there is always a minister there to be the "whipping boy" or rather the boy who is whipped, and who is the bearer of all responsibility. This gives

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the position of Constitutional Sovereign an isolation and a permanence which cannot attach to any ruler who takes an active part in politics, and who is associated in all men's minds with views which fail or become unpopular. But the weaker, or the less tangible, the public part taken in affairs by the reigning sovereign, the more easy does it become for him, not only to place his views on all important occasions before ministers, but to see that they are listened to and weighed by his councillors.

The power to do this must greatly depend upon personal qualifications, that is, on the influence the individual monarch may exercise. It is recorded of the Sovereign of a little German State that he had become so used merely to echo the words of his councillors that when he received an address from the mayor of a town and heard that the mayor and the burghers were glad to see him, the gracious ruler could only answer: "I too am glad that you see me!" Usually, however, even in such an extreme case of inanity as this, and where the personage is probably "unaccustomed to public speaking," he has friends who can put some sensible words into his mouth, for no European King has to undergo the ordeal of platform oratory favored by candidates for the Presidency "on the stump" in the United States.

They say that the speed of a squadron of warships at sea must be regulated by the slowest vessel. It is a maxim that the strength of a chain is no greater than that of its weakest link; but the object of mankind in constituting a government must be to prevent any weakness from dominating any situation. Personal influence may be powerful for good, but it must not be potent for harm. In America, the frequent checks provided by the statesmen of the Revolution makes all action executive only after some time has passed after the vote for such action has been given. Yet the President may do more harm than can a British King. In Britain there are too few checks on the Chambers, and more than sufficient to weight the monarch. The long practice of self-government on the part of the people is supposed to be a sufficient check of itself. Whether this be a correct theory, when almost every one is allowed to vote, time only can show. But there is little doubt that the checks provided against the Sovereign's arbitrary power are complete, and even if he have less experience and wisdom than the rashest of the deputies in the House of Commons, he can do but little harm. On the other

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hand, if he be wise and tactful and persuasive, and if he have the power to make men believe in his disinterestedness, impartiality, and honesty, he may have a great part in public affairs.

Personal influence! Yes, how that survives, and defies all attempts to render it ineffective! Men who disbelieve in it and set up socialist or communist ideas, denying to any individual any priority or advantage over his fellows, see with astonishment and mortification that the hated thing enters into their most secret circles and sways all their action. It was supposed that it was only in the unenlightened ages of the world that any one man could have any personal command in great affairs. With contempt it was pronounced that the heroes of antiquity or the great captains of bygone centuries must have had an inferior crew to deal with when so paramount a position was given to any individual. Englishmen in more recent times thought that it was only Frenchmen who could let "Bony" ride so rough-shod over them, when "liberty, equality, and fraternity" had but just been inscribed over the doors of every public building in France. Who but unenlightened Russians would allow a Tsar to have absolute dominion? Nowadays, surely, it was argued, when intelligence, culture, and education are so generally diffused, none could arrogate to himself any large share of the admiration and worship of his fellow countrymen. Is this so? Do we not rather see that men, even if raised to a high level of knowledge of material things, are yet as emotional as ever, as apt to follow like sheep the lead of one, as incapable of weighing and judging the faults of those who by appeals to their pride, their passion, and prejudice may rise to the head of affairs? Except in the very rare cases where great wars or convulsions of the political world are in progress, it is most difficut to get electors to value the "high politics" at stake at their proper measure of importance. Rather will they discuss the character of a candidate, and his private affairs, his position in society, the influence he may be able to use for their individual benefit; nay, even his appearance seems often to them of more account than his principles. The personal factor seems to be almost as great as ever!

The old hero worship is not dead, though all men may be able to reckon equally and have the same right to use the ballot box. We may flatter ourselves that in civil affairs, at least, the person so distinguished by popular favor may have justified his

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elevation by the greater probity of his character as compared with the popular idols of former times. It is to be hoped that such flattery has some foundation. Where it is most likely to have the surest grounds for justification is in cases where long life in high position has tested the belief in excellence. In what Tennyson calls "the fierce light that beats upon a throne," there is a test, when that throne is occupied by one ruling over a free people. In private council, a great personality has enormous influence with a free people; their press enables them to measure with greater accuracy as time passes the effect of their monarch's conduct on morals, on politics, on fashions. The imitative quality in human nature must always make the personal conduct and character of anyone called to a throne a matter of importance. If evil is shown in high places it will be multiplied in the lower. The stamp of fashion will be set in the habits which would not be imitated were they not known to be those of the rich and the fortunate. And this is not only true in regard to wearers of the crown, but it is to be seen as following for good or for bane the lives of all who have made their mark, and whose actions have thus become a subject of interest to the many.

Trust is of gradual growth. It is only in cases of "love at first sight" that we are desirous in private life of putting all "on the hazard of a die," only because, as an Irishman would say, there is no hazard, or we do not believe that any risk exists. But, as a rule, even in the family life, trust comes last of the attributes of affection. Still more in public business, a man must be very lucky if he be deemed "safe." It is of the essence of all trust that it ripens the belief in truthfulness as well as in capacity. Openness, loyalty, and honesty are the levers to raise the respect to admiration and trust.

The ministers of Queen Victoria found in the maiden monarch a loyalty to the truth which is rare, even among the best of maidens. The girl who at seventeen years of age was hastily summoned one morning at Kensington Palace to hear that her uncle had died and that his counsellors were coming in a few hours to greet her as Queen was by good fortune and good training, and native health of character, able, like the warrior youths of old, "to ride and speak the truth." And it is mainly because of this quality, confirmed and strengthened by the character of the Prince whom she was so soon to accept as Consort, that trust

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in her has for sixty years been part and parcel of the British mind.

The young Coburg prince was a cousin of the Queen, and was a man of very remarkable weight of character. The instruction given to him as a boy to bear himself *fürstlich*—that is, in a princely way—in life had not been given in vain. Full of an almost romantic desire to give dignity by conduct to a position which was eminent in his own land, but not important, he united high aims with a singular absence of enthusiasm in manner. Shyness was probably the cause of this concealment of enthusiasm. No one could be heartier, gayer, and happier than he was in family life, but in society he seemed cold, and he was not at first appreciated in London. There is always among Britishers a strong prejudice against foreigners, which must be chiefly due to the insular position of the country, for most Englishmen's fathers have come to England as strangers at times remote or near. But each newcomer in any island, even one as large as Great Britain, is always looked upon as a peculiar and inferior specimen. This may be noticed wherever salt water surrounds a bit of land, and is a human peculiarity which must be left to physiologists to explain. All who learned to know him well at Court soon perceived how excellent he was, but his diffidence made him stiff with those he did not care for, and this appearance of haughtiness was against him in the London world. Singularly self-sacrificing in desiring that the Queen should have all the regard and loyalty and honor given by her people, he kept himself conscientiously in the background, and yet toiled like a slave at the work necessary to qualify himself as her councillor and partner in all the anxieties and responsibilities of her station. He was full of this anxiety to live in accordance with the high ideal he had formed of what the husband of a British sovereign should be, and he succeeded in the task. Before he died, at the early age of forty-three, he had so organized the Court that the burden of its routine was much lightened for the Queen. He had brought system into her life, so that each part of the day had its allotted occupation, whether of work, social entertainment, or private amusement. He was no lover of sour retirement or pedantic tedium. Riding, driving, skating, dancing, were as much a part of the life he guided and shared as was the elaborate noting and summing up of debates on all public affairs. Memorandums for

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the Queen to send to her ministers, full of wise, moderate counsel in time of difficulty; letters to leaders of parties giving well-informed views on foreign politics derived from a large personal acquaintance and correspondence with sovereigns and leading men in Europe—all these were never lacking: while attention was bestowed on the sometimes almost as harassing details of social work. And in the delicate labor of giving an example in Court life, which is so rare an accomplishment in sovereigns full of youth and high spirits, and yet so necessary in countries where the ears of the press can hear all the whispers of scandal, he made virtue to be at once loved and feared, and honor a name to be worn by the brave and the noble, but denied to the bully and the gamester. The Queen herself would be the first to say that the success of her sixty years' reign is chiefly due to the young man who at the age of twenty-two taught her so to divide time as to reign over an empire.

The habits he persuaded her to adopt have become the custom of her every-day life. There are still hours devoted each day to given duties and occupations, and there are still the same months of each year given to residence in the places where the happy joint life was passed in the days that laid the foundation of the success won by order and industry and tact. Work is never neglected, and touch is always kept with ministers, one of whom is on duty when the Queen is at her country place in Scotland. The Prime Minister or the leader of the House of Commons, being the chief of the party in power, sends each night a brief account of the debate of the night, and this is forwarded, as are all despatches, in leather boxes to the Sovereign. Each morning the contents are read and the despatches returned with any notes and observations which may be expedient. This routine of business, with all events noted, and documents copied and filed, gives a reserve of precedent and a fund for judgment which statesman after statesman has found to be invaluable. The thoughts which the Queen may express upon any subject have been quoted by them with respect and admiration for the knowledge shown, and the value of the light thrown upon difficult problems. The well-known instance of the modification of the form of a despatch written at Lord John Russell's instance in regard to the seizure of Mason and Slidell by a United States war vessel in 1861 furnishes an example of the influence for peace

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that has been successfully exerted by the Queen's supervision of affairs. This was the last occasion on which the Prince personally was able to assist his wife. Since then his system has been diligently followed.

The Crown has been compared to the figure-head of a ship. It is sometimes said that it is only preserved to give a fictitious dignity to the vessel of state. They who speak thus know little, and probably care less, how monarchy works. If figure-heads can walk the deck and have conference with the captain, arrange for the command in case he falls overboard, and even have influence for the keeping of discipline in the forecastle, the comparison may be good. In public affairs we deem chairmen necessary at meetings, and we do not condemn them as useless if they cannot eject all whom they cannot persuade. In private life we consider it fortunate if the family have the advantage of the guidance of a good mother. And this Her Majesty has been to her people. She has exercised a continuous influence for good for sixty years. Of how many others in any position can the same be said? No wonder that all Anglo-Saxons and Celts are proud of her, for the blood of both is in her veins, and the wish expressed in "*Ciad Mille Failte*" is that of the time-honored "God save the Queen."

LORNE.

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THE QUEEN'S PARLIAMENTS.

BY H. W. LUCY (TOBY, M. P., OF "PUNCH").

PART I.

Of the crowd of Members of the House of Commons who on the 20th of November, 1837, thronged the bar of the House of Lords to catch a glimpse of the girl-Queen opening her first Parliament, only six are living at this day. That fact, standing alone, marks the unparalleled length of Queen Victoria's reign. Of the half dozen survivors, one is Mr. Leader, who represented Westminster in the first Parliament of the Queen, and distinguished himself by joining the minority of twenty who supported that once well-known, now forgotten, statesman, Mr. Coroner Wakley, in an amendment to the address. The ministry, avowedly Liberal, had omitted from the Queen's speech promise to undertake Parliamentary reform. The Coroner, with professional energy, forthwith proceeded to sit upon the government. He found only eighteen members to follow the lead of himself and co-teller in what might be construed as a rudeness to the young Queen, whose first speech was nominally the subject of debate.

Others of the six relics of this House of more than sixty years ago, are Mr. Hurst, Member for Horsham; Mr. Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, Member for Malton, now Earl Fitzwilliam; Sir Thomas Acland, Member for West Somerset, whose family name is honorably represented in the House of Commons of to-day by the Ex-Vice-President of the Council; Mr. Villiers, now, as then, Member for Wolverhampton, and Mr. Gladstone, to-day in busy seclusion at Hawarden, then Member for Newark, hearing his days before him and the tumult of his life.

Of the Queen's ministers who paid homage on the young girl's accession to the throne not one survives. Lord Melbourne was

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First Minister of the Crown, none objecting to the Premier's being seated in the House of Lords, the less so since he had a vigorous lieutenant in the Commons in the person of Lord John Russell. Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary. It is incidental, but striking, evidence of the growth of the empire under the sway of the Queen and the direction of her fourteen parliaments that in 1837 there was no such personage as a Secretary of State for the Colonies. Great Britain's colonial possessions were by no means insignificant even sixty years ago. But with the assistance of an under-secretary specially concerned for the colonies their affairs were quite comfortably managed, in addition to his own duties, by the Secretary of State for War. It was not till 1854 that the offices were divided, Sir George Grey in that year becoming Colonial Secretary.

Looking down the yellowing page of the first division list recorded in the first Parliament of the Queen, one comes upon some familiar names starring the long columns of the now unknown. Sir Robert Peel was leader of the Opposition. By his side sat Lord Stanley, aftewards, as Earl of Derby, known as the Rupert of debate. O'Connell was in the prime of his power, the fullness of his force. His lieutenant was Richard Lalor Shiel, whose pallid face and delicate frame contrasted strangely with the ruddy countenance and burly body of the Liberator. Shiel was an orator in spite of his voice, which Mr. Gladstone once described as reminding him of "the sound of a tin kettle battered about from place to place."

"In anybody else," Mr. Gladstone testifies, "I would not, if it had been my choice, like to have listened to that voice. But in him I would not have changed it, for it was part of a most remarkable whole, and nobody ever felt painful while listening to it. Shiel was a great orator, and an orator of much preparation, carried, I believe, even to words, with a very vivid imagination and an enormous power of language and of strong feeling. There was a peculiar character, a sort of half-wildness in his aspect and delivery. His whole figure, his delivery, his voice, and his matter were all in such perfect keeping with one another that they formed a great Parliamentary picture. Although it is now thirty-five years since I heard Mr. Shiel, my recollection of him is just as vivid as if I had been listening to him to-day."

By an odd coincidence another Shiel lives in the recollection

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of later members of the Queen's Parliaments by reason of his voice—or, to be more precise, by consequence of its temporary absence. Mr. Edward Shiel, nephew of the orator to whom Mr. Gladstone pays sympathetic tribute, was elected to the tenth Parliament of the Queen, representing Meath. When Mr. Parnell formed his militant party Mr. Shiel joined it for awhile, serving as whip. During one of the spells of all-night sittings, the usual contributors to the proceeding having talked themselves hoarse, the junior whip was impressed for active service, just as in times of stress on board ship the cook and steward are summoned to the pumps. Having a couple of hours' notice given him, Mr. Shiel prepared notes for a speech, and in due time was called upon by the Speaker. He rose in obedience to signal, but there was no other response. Members turning their attention to the benches below the gangway on the Opposition side observed a slight figure, upright, with a beardless face, paler than ordinary, staring straight at the Speaker. On closer inspection it was seen that Mr. Shiel's lips were moving, but not a whisper was audible. For fully ten minutes he remained on his feet, and when he sat down the House concluded he had finished his speech. Observation of the fact that he was no longer on his legs was the only evidence available.

Other members of this first Parliament of the Queen whose names are familiar to the present generation are Lord Ashley, who did a long life's work as Earl of Shaftesbury; Mr. Grote, the banker, whose annual drafts in favor of the ballot were honored after many years; Mr. Horsman, at this time Member for Cockermouth; Sir Harry Verney, whose handsome, venerable figure decorated the Conservative benches below the gangway so recently as the tenth Parliament of the Queen; Mr. Wyndham Lewis, just returned for Maidstone with Mr. Disraeli as colleague, not yet dreaming that some day Mrs. Wyndham Lewis would become Mrs. Disraeli, and later bloom as Lady Beaconsfield; many-lettered Lytton Bulwer (in the division list he figures as Edward G. E. L. Bulwer), who sat for Lincoln, with the famous Colonel Sibthorpe for colleague.

There is a George Granville Harcourt, Member for Oxfordshire, kinsman of a later Member for Oxford, who has added enduring Parliamentary fame to the family name. It is even more startling in running the eye down the Division List to

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come upon the name Henry Labouchere. This is, of course, not the Editor of *Truth*, Member for Northampton in the present Parliament. It was his uncle, who, unconscious of offence to be given to the later developed convictions of his distinguished nephew, accepted a Peerage, and sat in the Upper House as Lord Taunton.

Behind Sir Robert Peel, in those now shadowy days, sat two young members, as yet untried, whose Parliamentary fame parallels if it does not surpass that of their first great leader. When the Queen's first speech was read in the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone was twenty-eight years old. Mr. Disraeli was thirty-three. Happily there are preserved to this day pen-and-ink pictures of the member for Maidstone in 1837, and the member for Newark in the same Parliament. We read of Disraeli's ringlets, of his silken black hair, his flashing eyes, his effeminate air and lisping voice, his dress-coat of black velvet lined with white satin; his white kid gloves, the long hanging fringe of black silk that fell from his wrist, with more black silk in the shape of a tassel adorning his ivory cane, with its handle inlaid with gold.

"Disraeli," writes an American traveller, who crossed the Atlantic before steamships were built, "has one of the most remarkable faces I ever saw. He is lividly pale, and, but for the energy of his action and the strength of his lungs, would seem to be a victim to consumption. His eye is black as Erebus, and has the most mocking, lying-in-wait sort of expression conceivable. His mouth is alive with a kind of working and impatient nervousness. When he has burst forth, as he does constantly, with a particularly successful cataract of expression, it assumes a curl of triumphant scorn that would be worthy of Mephistopheles."

"Mr. Gladstone," we read in pages descriptive of the British Senate in 1838, "is a fine-looking man. He is about the usual height and of good figure. His countenance is mild and pleasant, and has a highly intellectual expression. His eyes are clear and quick. His eyebrows are dark and rather prominent. There is not a dandy in the House but envies what Truefit would call his fine head of jet black hair. It is always carefully parted from the crown downwards to his brow, where it is tastefully shaded. His features are small and regular, and his complexion must be a very unworthy witness if he does not possess an abundant stock of health."

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Mr. Disraeli did not wait long before he gave the House of Commons a taste of his quality. The first Parliament of the Queen was opened on the 20th of November, 1837. On the 7th day of the following month the ringleted member for Maidstone delivered that historic speech with its angry prophetic last word: "The time will come when you *shall* hear me."

Mr. Roebuck was not present when the Queen delivered her first speech in Parliament, having been defeated at Bath at the general election following on the accession of Her Majesty. He came in four years later, and thereafter, up to the Parliament of 1873, when he was elected for Sheffield, he fitfully reappeared on the scene. He made one prominent appearance even in these early days of the Queen's first Parliament. Canada was in revolt, and Lord John Russell brought in a bill suspending the constitution of Lower Canada. Mr. Roebuck was agent and representative of the Province, and claimed the right to be heard at the Bar of the House in opposition to the measure. This was granted, and, according to contemporary record, the House was surprised to find itself instructed by one who "looked like a boy scarcely out of his teens."

I recall another very different scene in the House of Commons, when Mr. Roebuck was the centre of interest. It was in the session of 1878, when party feeling, excited by the foreign policy of Mr. Disraeli, ran high. Mr. Roebuck, though sitting on the Opposition side—a quarter which, politics apart, was more in unison with his constitutional tendencies—supported what at the time was called the Jingo policy. This made his presence below the gangway on the Opposition side especially unwelcome to the Radicals, who claimed the quarter as their own. Mr. Roebuck further aggravated the situation by insisting upon a vested interest in the corner seat, a coign of vantage which in the following Parliament was made more prominent by the occupancy of Lord Randolph Churchill. At this time it was held by Mr. Dillwyn, one of the oldest and most respected members. He daily obtained renewal of possession by the customary course of being down at prayer time. Having observed that not always convenient condition, it was trying to human nature for Mr. Roebuck to arrive at a comfortably late hour and insist on taking the prized place.

There was not only the member for Sheffield to be provided

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with room. There was his walking stick, almost as truculent as himself. This he insisted on placing lengthwise at the back of the seat. When Mr. Dillwyn and members seated to his left had moved down to make room for the old man, he had an agreeable fashion of prodding his stick along successive ranges of human backs, till room was made for it to repose at full length. Out of deference to his age and ancient reputation this trial was long suffered. But the worm will turn at last. One evening, in a house crowded in every part in anticipation of a critical debate, the bent figure of Tear'em was seen slowly advancing up the floor, making for the corner seat. It was filled as usual. Roebuck stood leaning on his stick waiting for Mr. Dillwyn to move. The member for Swansea made no sign, staring at the ceiling, apparently unconscious of the figure standing before him, or of the glowering countenance turned upon him. One or two Conservatives on the front bench immediately opposite jumped up, proffering their seats. Roebuck, turning round, slowly crossed the floor, and, amid a ringing cheer from the Conservatives, finally entered their fold.

The Queen's first Parliament did not meet in the stately palace that to-day dominates the Thames at Westminster. Nor was it gathered in the old building through which rang the voices of Pitt and Fox. That was destroyed by fire three years before the Queen came to the throne. The new Houses of Parliament were commenced in 1840, and it was not till 1852 that the Commons met for the first time in their new House. Meanwhile, the business of the Legislature was carried on in a temporary building. The Queen's first appearance on the Parliamentary scene was on the 17th of July, 1837, when she prorogued the Parliament in session at the time of the death of William the Fourth. We find in contemporary records that the speech was read "in a low, sweet, clear voice heard all over the House." Her Majesty was dressed in a white satin robe decorated with jewels and gold, the Garter on her arm, a mantle of crimson velvet over her shoulders.

When the new Parliament was elected (at that date a proceeding peremptorily following on the demise of the Crown) the Queen opened it in person, the sweet voice from the throne pleading that "the early age at which I am called to the sovereignty of this kingdom renders it a more imperative duty that under Divine Providence I should place my reliance upon your cordial co-oper-

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ation and upon the love and affection of all my people." It is a notable fact that in the Queen's first speech on opening Parliament the only legislation promised related to Ireland.

Up to the commencement of the Queen's reign it was the practice, observed as we see in the Queen's earliest experience, for the Sovereign not only to open Parliament in person but frequently to go down to prorogue it. Whilst the Prince Consort was yet alive the Queen commonly lent to the opening session the grace and dignity of her presence. Upon her great bereavement the habit of abstention from public ceremonial extended to Parliamentary proceedings. Mr. Disraeli having won his way to the Premiership, the Queen honored him by personally opening the Parliament he led. Thrice during his premiership Her Majesty appeared at Westminster. Once was the memorable occasion when Benjamin Disraeli became Earl of Beaconsfield. One has vivid recollection of the scene on the February day, in 1877, when the Queen entered the crowded and expectant House of Lords, preceded by the heralds clad in gorgeous cloth of gold. In the procession there appeared a familiar face, a strangely disguised figure. It was hard to think that the personage in the red cloak tipped with ermine, who bore aloft a jewelled scabbard, was the somewhat dingily dressed Dizzy we had known so long in the Commons. Yet it was he, now Earl of Beaconsfield, carrying the Sword of State, in attendance on the Queen whom he had just made Empress of India.

In these later times the Queen's voice is not heard. The speech is in charge of the Lord Chancellor, who, when the Queen is seated on the throne, and the Commons, summoned by Black Rod, have ranged themselves at the Bar, advances, and on bended knee proffers the document. By a gesture of the hand the Queen signs him to read it. Thus it comes to pass that the Queen opens Parliament without opening her mouth.

The whole business, as far as the Queen is concerned, does not occupy more than fifteen minutes. But the scene is worthy of the setting and the occasion. For once the Peers wear their robes, flooding the floor of the House with a mass of color. This is diversified by the uniforms and orders of the Foreign Ambassadors, for whom provision is made on the benches to the right of the woolsack, where in ordinary times the Bishops flock. Here are seen the Turkish Minister with

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his fez; the Japanese and Persian ministers in their gay uniforms; the members of the Chinese Legation in round high caps and petticoats, looking as if they had just stepped off the panel of a tea chest. Here are the ministers of Continental powers, their breasts ablaze with orders. Here, before Greece found she could not afford the luxury of a Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James's, gleamed the Greek Minister, in tight white breeches and petticoat of cloth of gold; and here, conspicuous by his plain morning dress, is found the American minister.

To the picturesqueness of the scene the judges lend their sage countenances, their full-bottomed wigs, their ermine gowns. They have places provided for them immediately before the woolsack, where they sit among the surpliced bishops. On this rare occasion women have their rights, a considerable proportion of the benches on the floor of the House being allotted to the Peeresses, whilst other ladies garland the long length of the side galleries. The coming of the Prince and Princess of Wales usually precedes the arrival of the Queen. The Prince wears the robes of a Peer, with no difference save that the quaint garment is tied at the throat with white silk ribbon. The Princess is conducted to the woolsack, where she sits with her back to the thronged House, her face to the throne. Meanwhile the Prince of Wales takes his seat in a chair set for him at the right of the throne. As the Prince and Princess of Wales enter, a swift, soft, rustling sound fills the chamber. It is the ladies, who have hitherto sat with opera cloaks covering their shoulders, beginning now with one accord to throw them off, revealing the flashing light of countless costly jewels.

When after long interval the Queen was, in 1876, again present at the opening of Parliament the white satin frock of girlhood's days had given place to a robe of imperial purple, so dark in hue that at a short distance it might have passed for black. On her head, surmounting the white pointed cap familiar in many of her portraits, was set a miniature crown of diamonds. Round her throat was strung a magnificent necklace of diamonds. On her breast the Koh-i-noor flashed like a comet. The jewel of the Order of the Garter glistened on the broad band of blue ribbon that crossed her shoulder. These were unwonted splendors of array, assumed in honor of the state occasion. Contrast-

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ing with them, possibly more to the Queen's taste, were the simple black fan she carried and the black gloves that covered hands and wrists.

Though the Queen has long relapsed into abstention from taking personal part in the opening of the recurring session of Parliament, she watches its course with closest interest. Ordinary people obtain information of what passes in the House of Commons from their morning newspapers. The Queen has a special reporter, who with his own hand draws "Pictures in Parliament" for her Majesty's special information. He is no less a person than the Leader of the House. It was George the Third who instituted this parliamentary practice. In his time there were no long reports of parliamentary proceedings in the newspapers, and his Majesty commanded Lord North to despatch to him nightly a letter descriptive of the proceedings, cataloguing the results of the sitting. Most newspapers to-day have under various titles their parliamentary summary. Lord North was the first parliamentary summary writer. The continuous story has been abundantly supplemented during the Queen's reign, the bookshelves in the private library at Windsor bulging with the record of three score years. The work is written by a rare series of eminent hands—Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Randolph Churchill, to-day Mr. Balfour, yesterday Sir William Harcourt. It would be delightful and instructive reading, and is much too good to be wasted on the desert air of Windsor Palace library.

The only peep the public have been permitted to gain of this rare treasure-trove is possible in Sir Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*. There will be found a few passages from Disraeli's letters, written from the Treasury Bench in the House of Commons during Lord Derby's second administration. Dizzy was then in the prime of life, and was sedulously setting himself to overcome the strong personal dislike with which the Queen, influenced by the Prince Consort, at the time regarded him. Here was an opportunity of showing her Majesty what potentiality of an interesting companion, a sprightly correspondent, lurked under the glossy curls of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer. Dizzy was at pains to make the most of the opportunity. His nightly account of parliamentary proceedings doubtless lacks the grim accuracy of Sir Robert Peel's communi-

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cations; but, judging from the specimens available, they sparkle with point, are as full of graphic touches as is *Coningsby*.

It is a peculiarity connected with this important ministerial function that the letter to the Queen shall, with the assistance of a blotting pad spread on the knee, be written from the Treasury Bench in full view of the House. It would appear more convenient that the Leader of the House should repair to his own room, and with the convenience of a writing desk, compose his letter. More than sixty years ago Sir Robert Peel, coming in with his first Ministry, and being as much hurried as was possible with one of his temperament, began to write the letter on his knee, seated on the Treasury Bench. His successor imitated him. Sir Robert, coming back again in 1841, returned to his early habit. Thus it became established.

Mr. Gladstone introduced a characteristic variety into the practice. In the stormy sittings of the Parliament of 1880–5 he adroitly availed himself of the opportunity of successive divisions to get his letter to the Queen written. Commencing it on the Treasury Bench while the question was being put and the House cleared for a division, he, as soon as the tellers were named, with youthful alacrity headed the procession for the door. Planting himself at one of the writing tables in the division lobby he went on with his work while his followers trooped past. The division over, he returned, bringing up the rear, happy in the consciousness that he had utilized ten precious minutes that would otherwise have been lost on a busy day.

Those present on that night in June, 1885, when the government were unexpectedly defeated on Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's Budget amendment can never forget how Mr. Gladstone wrote his letter to the Queen. It was half-past one in the morning when he resumed his seat after winding up the debate in an animated speech. When the House was cleared for the division he hastened out carrying blotting pad and sheet of paper, coming back with his letter half written. While members streamed in from either side, and the buzz of excitement grew to stormy heights, Mr. Gladstone went on writing, presenting his humble duty to the Queen, and informing her Majesty how matters thus far fared. Before he had finished, Lord Randolph Churchill had leaped upon the bench below the gangway, hat in hand, wildly cheering, and the Premier, still going on writing, was enabled to add to his

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budget of news the interesting item that in a House of 516 members her Majesty's government had been defeated by a majority of twelve.

The Prince of Wales, in this as in other matters filling parts in public life too laborious for the Queen's advancing years, is a frequent attendant upon Parliamentary proceedings. As a peer he carries the title of Duke of Cornwall, but, in common with the other royal princes, he sits in the House as a prince of royal blood. His place is on the front cross bench facing the woolsack, a situation indicative of the evenly balanced mind—"the cross bench mind" Lord Granville happily called it—which is not in thrall to any political party. The Duke of Cambridge has from time to time taken part in debate. The Prince of Wales' active participation in the proceedings of the House is confined to the occasional presentation of a petition in favor of the bill legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister. As a rule, invariable upon political issues, the Prince abstains from the division lobby, but for many years he has voted in favor of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.

At one time, much more than of late years, His Royal Highness was a constant visitor to the House of Commons, his pleasant presence beaming from the center seat of the Peer's gallery immediately over the clock. During the turbulent times that marked the birth of the Parnellite party he frequently dropped in to watch the recurring crises. This habit gave the late Mr. Joseph Gillis Biggar an opportunity of distinguishing himself above his fellows. One Tuesday evening in the early spring of 1875 Mr. Chaplin, then a private member, secured first place for a motion relating to the breed of horses. The Prince of Wales, accompanied by a numerous suite of peers whose faces were familiar at Newmarket and Epsom, came down to hear the speech and the debate. It was a great opportunity for Mr. Chaplin, and he was evidently prepared to rise to it. Unfortunately for him he had chanced some days earlier to offend Mr. Biggar. Joey B.—the member for Cavan—like the redoubtable Joe Bagstock, was sly, dev'lish sly. If Mr. Chaplin saw his opportunity, Joseph not only descried his, but seized it first.

Mr. Chaplin had risen, fixed his eyeglass, smitten himself reassuringly on his portly chest, had coughed in prelude to his opening sentence, when from below the gangway opposite, a well

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known shrill voice was heard exclaiming: "Mr. Speaker, sir, I believe there are strangers in the House."

For a moment the crowded chamber was hushed in dismayed silence. The Speaker broke it by enquiring whether the honorable member for Cavan persisted in his intention of noticing strangers. "If you please, Mr. Speaker," said Mr. Biggar with encouraging nod towards the chair. Then the anger of the House found issue in a roar of contumely, through which was heard the unparliamentary, almost unprecedented, sound of hissing. Honorable members might just as usefully have sat down by the river's brink and shouted "Stop" to the falls of Niagara. At that time there was in force the mediæval order which required the immediate and absolute withdrawal of strangers from every part of the House upon an individual member taking note of their presence. Mr. Biggar was master of the situation, and few human faces offered an opening for exceeding the breadth of his smile as he surveyed it.

The speaker had no option. He must needs order strangers to withdraw. Thereupon the Prince of Wales, the German Ambassador, who happened to be in the diplomatic gallery, and the crowd of peers, boasting the bluest blood in England, were compelled to scuttle. Mr. Biggar had his fun, but the House of Commons reaped permanent benefit from the prank. He brought into broad daylight the absurdity of the ancient custom, which was thenceforward doomed. The privilege of spying strangers is no longer counted among the possessions of individual members of the House of Commons. Strangers may today be excluded, but only upon motion duly made and carried by a majority.

H. W. Lucy.

(*To be continued.*)

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE DISINTEGRATION OF POLITICAL PARTY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *North American Review.*

SIR: My assertion in your last number that political party, through which representative government has hitherto been worked, is apparently in a state of final disintegration, has appeared to some a hard saying. With regard to party in the United States I defer to American authorities, and I shall look forward with interest to the process by which the Democratic party is to re-organize itself and reconcile the element of Jeffersonian individualism with the socialistic element impersonated in Mr. Altgeld.

But let my critics turn their eyes to the other side of the water. In France, in Italy, in Germany, political party seems to be extinct. In its place you have a multiplicity of sections or groups, the number of which appears to be always on the increase. The consequence in France and Italy is a dangerous instability of government. In the case of France the succession of ephemeral ministries has been almost ludicrous. In Italy it has been found necessary, in order to obtain a basis for a government, to have recourse to the most unnatural coalition. If in Germany there has been comparative stability, it has been due to the personal ascendancy of Bismarck, or to the authority of the Emperor, who still retains a portion of the power derived from a dictatorship of national defence. Nor do the groups differ from each other only on particular measures. If they did, their re-organization into parties might be expected. Each, as has been remarked, has its own ideal of government, and is struggling for the ascendency of that ideal.

In the Austrian Empire, and in Hungary as a state in itself, the divisions are national and racial rather than political. In Belgium there is a strong clerical party, to which the other elements are opposed. In Spain, government can hardly be said to have been representative, so greatly has its course been disturbed by civil war, by the violence of army chiefs, and by personal intrigue.

In Great Britain, its native seat, political party seems still to live. Yet even here its term of life appears precarious. The Unionist party, now in power, is held together, not so much by a general identity of political sentiment, as by a common fear of the dismemberment with which the country is threatened by Home Rule. Mr. Chamberlain must have turned himself inside out if, in general politics, he is at one with Lord Salisbury. On the other side of the House of Commons you have three sections, the Liberals, the Socialistic Radicals, and the Irish Home Rulers, which can hardly be said to form a party, and certainly could not maintain a united government.

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Between the Liberals, whose chief was Lord Rosebery, and the Socialistic Radicals, of whom Mr. Labouchere is the most prominent, there is a visible chasm. Both these sections voted the other day against the Irish Home Rulers on the vital question of national education. On that occasion the Irish Home Rulers showed that, connected as they are with the priesthood, they can hardly be called Liberals; while of the Liberals, three-fourths, probably, in their hearts wish Home Rule at the bottom of the sea. There is nothing like the sharp bisection of political opinion which there was in the old Whig and Tory days under the early Georges, or at the period of the French Revolution.

To supply a sound and moral basis for party government you must have a clear and permanent bisection of political opinion. Without this the existence of the parties can be sustained only by a Shibboleth or by corruption.

Switzerland seems to get on with representative government and without party organization. Her method deserves study. But her politics are more cantonal than federal, and as a whole they are on too small a scale to furnish a precedent or assurance for the great nations. It can hardly be said, therefore, that by her the problem has been solved.

Let it not be supposed that when a political problem is recognized as likely to call for solution a despondent view is taken of the political situation. The intelligence requisite to furnish the solution has probably been sharpened by exercise under the party system, as well as instructed by a vast and varied experience, garnered and methodized for us by political observers. Of public spirit and aptitude for self-government there is now far more in the world than ever there was before. If we do not at present see the way, the way will surely be found. The course of history is something like the path in the Gemmi Pass, which always seems to be blocked, but still, as we approach the obstacle, opens out again. Party government had its source in the issue between the Hanoverians and the partisans of the House of Stuart, an issue momentous, indeed, yet not inexhaustible. One can hardly imagine any thoughtful man being devotedly attached to it, or despairing of our political destinies because it seems to be near its end. Yours faithfully,

GOLDWIN SMITH.

TORONTO, May 10, 1897.

THE SENATE AND THE TARIFF BILL.

THE Senate of the United States, proceeding with traditional and wholesome care to the perfecting of the Dingley Tariff bill, has once more aroused the impatient protest of a restless people. We hear much of "the mire of debate"; we listen to low rumblings of discontent because of slow and aggravating deliberation. These complaints have been uttered before, and their recurrence at this time is neither novel nor surprising. The swiftly moving world looks with scorn upon methods that have the misfortune to possess the flavor of the last century. It demands speed, even though thoroughness be sacrificed and though justice and right be crushed beneath the Juggernaut of unreasoning and senseless haste.

In this especial instance, however, there are other factors at work beside the impetuosity of the times. A country depressed, a nation suffering from a prolonged period of commercial inactivity, a vast army of idle workmen waiting eagerly for the resumption of industrial pursuits, a political party

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anxious to restore the prosperity it has so confidently predicted—all these and more appeal for prompt action on the pending measure in the belief that it contains the germ which shall develop into much-desired fruit. So now, as when in days gone by public sentiment was wrought to an exited pitch, there is a feeling that the Senate should be forced to hasten. Its complacency only irritates and annoys. The very indifference which it manifests to public clamor stimulates and intensifies the chorus of public disapproval. There would be some ground for this impatience if the much-abused system of unlimited debate had operated to the detriment of the country. On the contrary, its existence means the endurance of one great safeguard of the republic and its preservation is of more importance than the passage of a thousand tariff bills combined. To the thinking mind there is also cause for suspicion as to the propriety of changing the rules of the Senate in the very fact that the pressure therefor is most pronounced in times of partisan strife and public excitement. A movement which culminates at the height of passionate feeling is not, we suggest, the safest thing to be crystallized into law.

The Senate being a deliberative and not a purely legislative body, it very properly has no recognition of the previous question, the parliamentary method of forcing a vote. A Senator can speak whenever he pleases, as often as he pleases and as long as he pleases upon any pending proposition and no agreement to take a vote can be reached until unanimous consent has been given. This has not always been the case. There was a time in the very earliest days of the Senate when the previous question had its place, but, like the fig tree of Biblical story, it bore no fruit, withered and was cut down. The founders of the government, with that prophetic foresight which is at once our admiration and our envy, saw that there must be some place where the majority could be held in curb, some barrier erected between the House of Representatives and the President. The power to gag and suppress the brutal force which could be exerted with or without reason by a relentless majority against a helpless minority might be properly vested in a body like the House of Representatives, but if equally assertive in the Senate would produce dangerous results. With no check anywhere upon the expression of majority will, it would be possible for both Houses of Congress to place in the hands of a partisan President legislation which, passed in haste, would be sorely repented at leisure.

When, inch by inch, the slaveholders in the Senate fell backward toward final defeat, their antagonists sought to speed their downfall by depriving them of the parliamentary defense afforded by the Senate rules. From that day to this the effort to compel a vote by majority decision has been repeated with more or less persistency and radicalism. It is worth noting, however, that arguments which lacked neither in ability nor forceful presentation have not yet convinced the Senate that a change is desirable. Even the most modified form of clôture finds no support except among the few. The strongest argument in favor of departing from conservative methods has probably been made by Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts. "To vote without debating," he says, "may be hasty, may be ill-considered, may be rash, but to debate and never vote is imbecility." If the premises of this forcible statement were correct, the conclusion would be irresistible. The trouble is, however, that the intimation that the Senate never votes is not warranted by the facts. Neither is it true, as once asserted, that the rules of the Senate make it nearly impossible to do business. On the contrary,

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the record of work done favors the Senate as against the House. In the Fifty-fourth Congress, the Senate passed 1,682 bills and joint resolutions, the House 1,200. In the Fifty-third Congress the figures were 1,086 and 951 respectively; and in the Fifty-second, there were 1,350 bills and joint resolutions to the credit of the Senate as against 990 for the House. The same result could be shown in any Congress. The rules of the Senate, therefore, do not obstruct legislation. More than this, it can be positively asserted that no measure of transcendental importance to the country, which commanded the earnest and aggressive support of a majority of the Senate and had behind it a positive public opinion, has ever failed to pass that body. If persistent, strenuous opposition finally prevails, it is because of grave defects in proposed legislation. The failure of the so-called Force bill is often cited as a victory for the minority—as one occasion where senatorial methods thwarted the majority will. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Force bill, at the close of a long and exceedingly bitter struggle, was displaced and another measure substituted for consideration by a direct vote of a majority of the Senate.

Unlimited debate, as I have shown, does not prevent the transaction of business. It does put a check upon hasty voting. Is this to be deprecated? The pages of legislative history answer the question in the negative. Take the force bill just mentioned. A House surcharged with riotous partisanship passed it with reckless haste. Had majority rule been uncurbed in the Senate, the menace to individual liberty contained in the bill, its rigorous provisions and the danger of its far-reaching purpose, could never have been emphasized until the minority was converted into a majority. No one to-day, we imagine, would be willing to assert that the force bill ought to have become a law, with its consequent re-solidification of the South and its brood of sectional ills. But for this same barrier of debate, the legislation of the reconstruction era would have been a blot upon the page of American history. If the minority had not interposed with moderate suggestion and appealing argument, blind passion and unreasoning hate, born of prejudice and fratricidal struggle, would have forged political chains and lacerated old sores until the succeeding rancor and strife would have become intolerable. It was the freedom of debate which punctured the absurdities of the Blair educational bill and prevented a romantic scheme for the expenditure of untold millions from being enacted into law. On the other hand, if the repeal of the Sherman law was an admirable thing, that repeal could never have been accomplished if it had been in the power of the majority to speedily force a vote, for when that measure reached the Senate the majority was against it. It was during the progress of the debate that the necessary votes for repeal were won.

If it be claimed that all this is no excuse for the deliberate attitude of the Senate toward the Tariff bill, it must first be proven that there is occasion for apology. The Ways and Means Committee and the House together occupied three months and a half in framing and passing the bill. If the Senate should desire to occupy only the same period, it has still until the 15th day of July before it must needs take the final vote, a date still some time distant. In the House, too, the consideration was largely in the nature of a farce. Only a few of the more than one hundred pages were even read, the remainder being bolted entire, save where the Ways and Means Committee patched up its hurried work by changes made at the last minute. This may be expedition but it is not legislation. It means that the bill went

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to the Senate studded with incongruities and filled with errors of fact and of judgment. This is but history repeating itself. When the McKinley bill, which was passed in the same fashion, finally became a law, it contained between 700 and 800 amendments properly and necessarily added in the Senate. As for the Wilson bill, one has only to recall the deficit under which the government has staggered for nearly four years to realize what a mire of distress would have engulfed the country if additional revenue had not been added to the bill through the Senate amendments. In the Senate, too, we gain publicity. Unlike the procedure in the House, every item is subjected to keenest scrutiny. The defence for every increase, the explanation for every reduction, is being made in open court. The inquiries of a vigilant and curious minority are being answered, votes are daily being recorded, responsibility for committee action and individual opinion must be met. All this was deliberately avoided in the House, and would be impossible in the Senate with the institution of a gag law. It would be impossible even with the most modified form of cloture yet devised.

Freedom of debate does not prevent the consummation of imperative legislation; it benefits good laws and modifies or defeats those which are improper; it insures prudent examination, essential thoroughness and most advisable publicity. To its credit also must be placed its educational value. But for the prolonged discussion over the repeal of the Sherman law there would have been no financial issue in the last campaign nor would 6,500,000 voters have followed Bryan to the polls. It has been in the Senate and not in the House of Representatives that all the great campaign issues have been formulated, enlightening the people on public questions. All these are minor factors, however, beside the vital consideration of the safeguard which unlimited debate provides against despotic authority. Enforce a cloture rule in the Senate and there is no forum in the whole scheme of government where the minority can secure equitable rights. "It is the refuge of the minority permanent, abiding, and unchangeable," says Senator Turpie, and he adds that the principle of asylum ought to be as inviolable there as it is in any procedure under international law. Remove the opportunity of the minority to raise its protest, and representative government, in its broadest and fullest sense, is nullified at once. Majority power without proper limitation silences a vast integral part of the country's population and if unbridled and unobstructed in the Senate, as it is in the House, would invite national disaster. There must be some place where the minority can find voice, some platform where the inequalities of popular representation are corrected, some sanctuary where every man is on an equal footing and entitled to the same privilege and consideration, no matter whether he be on the triumphant or losing side. The minority has some rights which the majority is bound to respect, despite the assertions of intolerant victors to the contrary. Otherwise, there can be no acceptable adjustment of conflicting interests, no harmony which is so essential to the continued solidity of the Republic. Against any abandonment of the system which now prevails all the forces of conservatism and stable government solemnly protest.

The millions who believe in the free coinage of silver found their sentiments voiced in the discussion of the repeal of the Sherman law. If that debate could have been prevented by a peremptory vote, the same power would to-morrow suppress the free consideration of some topic even more vital to the American people. Suppose for a moment that the Senate

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should in the future be controlled by corporations and trusts, would the masses feel secure if the great weapon of free debate were denied them? Most assuredly not. I agree with Senator Teller when he says that it may become the highest duty, the greatest obligation, of an American Senator to stand and resist, if he be in the minority, until he has brought the majority to a respectful hearing of his case. The trouble is that the House is no longer a deliberative body, but is dominated by partisan influences and by autocratic rules which admit of no freedom of action. An inflamed condition of the public mind, inordinate desire for power, motives of party revenge—all these can easily be potent in securing the passage through the House of measures that would disgrace the statute books. In the Senate, however, the opposition imposes careful consideration. Time, the great precipitator of all turbidity, intervenes and prevents the hasty vote that would send the objectionable law to the White House for the President's action. Washington never said a truer thing than when he likened the Senate to a saucer into which the hot tea of the House was poured to cool.

The barriers which wise custom has erected and long experience has sanctioned, are not to be torn down in a single night because of unthinking and inconsiderate clamor. The forum of free debate, wherein Clay and Webster in the past and others equally able and statesman-like in the present, have displayed their eloquence and intellectuality, is not to lose through ignorance and prejudice all the honor and the glory with which its great debaters have ensbrined it. Against an excited, aggressive, and relentless majority the minority will still find a court where it can be heard without stint and without apologizing for its presence. There is still, thank Heaven! a legislative body where the brake of opposition can be applied to blind and unruly haste.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

ANOTHER WORD ON PRISON LABOR.

THE employment of prison labor so that it will not compete with free labor is a subject that has received during recent years deep consideration from penologists and those interested in prison reform. The system in vogue at the present time should not be condemned without a fair trial.

The objections raised originally by labor organizations, aided and abetted by manufacturers affected directly by prison labor competition, resulted in the adoption of various methods to keep the convicts in the penal institutions of the State employed. At one time the State employed its convicts largely on State lands. Sing Sing prisoners worked the lime deposits at that institution, while at Clinton the iron mines were developed. No objection is raised to this method of employing convicts, and it has been a mystery to many men why it was ever changed. The penal population of 1,200 in the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island, and the average of 2,000 inmates to be found in the Workhouse, have been always employed for the benefit of the county of New York and to this no one has ever objected.

Labor organizations are on record that convicts shall work, but for thirty years they have protested against a system that places criminals in direct competition with free labor. They have *insistently and persistently* opposed a law that allowed the work of convicts to come into competition with the products of the legitimate manufacturer.

It has been clearly shown that, under the contract system, manu-

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facturers could not compete with the prison makers of stoves or shoes. The legitimate business man was obliged to pay the current rates of wages, rent, insurance, and the other charges that go to make the burdens of a factory, while the contractor of prison labor had his factory free and convicts working for him at from thirty to forty cents a day under a task system which meant severe punishment if the convict failed in his work.

After the contract system came the State account and piece price plans. These were even worse for the State, as the people furnished the immense capital required to establish plants (nearly all of which has been lost to the State), while the goods were sold at ruinous prices. The whole subject was exhaustively discussed before the Constitutional Convention, which set the seal of condemnation upon the unjust methods of employing convict labor which obtained in the past, and adopted an amendment prohibiting the employment of such labor except directly for the State. This has been law for two years, but until very recently the prison managers made no effort to begin work under this new system as specifically directed by the Constitution.

The new Constitution also created a prison commission. This board consists of seven men and one woman, none of whom hitherto has had any special acquaintance with or made any special study of the subject of the employment of prison labor. This board is charged with the work of supervising the system, and, at its very first meeting, declared itself opposed to the old plan of employing labor in our prisons.

The first report of this board in courageous language declared that it is a simple matter to find ample employment for the prisoners now in the penal institutions of the State without placing these convicts as competitors in the open labor market. The new law directs that all State institutions supported wholly or in part by public funds shall obtain as far as possible their necessary supplies from the prisons. I have not space enough to quote more liberally from this report, but it took such important ground on this question that it awoke the dormant energies of the Superintendent of State Prisons, who, in a recent report, declared that he can find work for all the convicts in the State, and that these shall be employed in such a manner that their work will not compete with free labor.

Now that this new system is to be put on trial, I assert that it is only fair for the friends of the old plans to suspend their opposition until time shall demonstrate whether the new system is a success or a failure. Our opponents have always maintained that all they wanted was work for the convicts, but in urging the old plans they never stopped to consider how many free men were deprived of employment by reason of unfair competition. I am rather inclined to believe that those who were not directly interested in contracts were prompted in their opposition by a lack of knowledge of the true facts. I submit a few to show that we have quite a large community depending upon the State—large enough to make a good-sized city, and these the convicts could work for.

I take from the Comptroller's report of 1897 the following facts :

Population of reformatories and charitable institutions	6,000
In hospitals	19,234
In other institutions, exclusive of prisons	6,156

It cost the State nearly six million for the maintenance of this population—food, clothing, etc.—during the fiscal year which ended September 30, 1896. This population of more than 31,000 does not include the inmates of

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the protectories, prisons, and penitentiaries, which, if added, would make a total of nearly 50,000 people who are a charge upon the State.

New York has altogether about 4,500 convicts available for work in the penal institutions covered by the new law. These can be employed in the following manner, and as one who has been interested in prison reform for many years, I am sure that there will be very little opposition. A fraction of the convicts could be employed to raise all the vegetables and prepare the food required by this community. Another fraction could cut and grind stone to improve the public highways. Cloth could be woven for the inmates of State institutions. With proper effort no convict need be idle.

It may be said that this sytem of employing convicts will not yield a profit. Do the people expect profit from convict labor? I think not. All that the public expects is that these institutions shall be made self-supporting, less expense of maintenance. The State of Mississippi has recently demonstrated the practicability of the system I advocate. The matter largely depends upon the men in charge.

There is no labor performed by prisoners that does not compete in some degree with free labor. The problem before us is how to reduce this convict competition to a minimum, and if those in charge of this work in this State will attempt to make the penal population supply the food, clothing, etc., for all public charges, I think the battle will be won, and all lovers of fair play will have cause to rejoice that another species of slavery has been abolished. As to the reformatory influence of labor in our prisons and the statement that constant employment is the only check to insanity, so often referred to by eminent penologists, I wish to say that when I was a member of the prison commission in this State, I examined minutely into the workings of the Elmira Reformatory as compared with our regular States prison. The conclusion reached by our commission was not flattering to the Elmira Reformatory. In fact, the consensus of opinion was that there is no reform unless the prisoner has reformatory tendencies. Those who are reformed do not owe their reformation to rigid rules rigidly enforced, but rather to their own determination to remain out of prison and live a decent life. Work never reformed criminals. The fact that men do not want to work makes them criminals, which is a distinction with a difference.

I believe that the clause of the new law which classifies criminals so that, after a person has been sentenced for the third time, he will be compelled to remain in prison until pardoned, will have more influence in reforming convicts than all the rigid rules adopted by wardens or city boards.

A word as to the development of insanity in our prisons, and I am done. During the past ten years the average each year shows that about fifty-five persons confined in prisons have become insane, and these lapses occurred at times when convicts not only had enough to do, but were overworked. Those who have been familiar with convict life know that insanity never comes from lack of work. The so-called "insane convict" idea is a development of morbid sentimentality.

It is indeed gratifying to me that this fight for prison reform, which I took up in 1871 as President of the Workingmen's Assembly of the State, has been forced to a successful issue. I hope to be permitted to live to testify to the success of this new system of employing prison labor, and am happy in the knowledge that the prison ring of the State of New York with all its power is a thing of the past.

GEO. BLAIR.

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